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A HISTORY OF THE
THIRTY YEARS' PEACE.

VOL. IV.

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SOME beneficent legislation took place during this period, three instances of which were of such strong popular interest as to require notice in some detail.

Up to this time, the criminal law of the country had not been accessible to those who lived under that law; and it was no easy matter for professional men to attain any competent knowledge of it. The criminal law of England was contained in an immense and confused mass of documents—statutes, ancient and modern records, reported decisions of the judges, and text-books. If the mind of every individual lawyer was required to deduce the law from all these repositories, it was clear that the vast work would not really be done; and if the profession proceeded on tradition, or in conventional agreement with regard to the most commonly occurring cases, it does not appear that the deposited law was of much practical use. It ill befitted a civilised state and an enlightened age that the criminal law should not be clearly ascertained, and laid down in some depository accessible to all. This great work was appointed, in 1833, to a royal commission, whose

of married women in England. As he said, 'they were not properly represented in the legislature.' They were not represented at all. The party supposed, in works of political philosophy, to represent them are precisely those against whom legislation is needed for their protection. In the case before us, it was, as was openly declared at the time, precisely the men who despised and distrusted women, and had no conception of such an ideal as the virtuous matronage of England, who exerted themselves to prevent the passage of the law which should permit a blameless mother occasionally to see her children by an order from the equity judges. On that night when Lord Brougham made his remarkable speech, the division was as remarkable as anything that took place. Two tales were told in the course of the debates on the bill, which melted the hearts of those who heard them. This was one source of interest. Another was the dread on the part of certain peers that this bill would grant too much liberty to Englishwomen, and that they would be encouraged to elope, if they had hope of any laws being made in their favour—though it was only women who had not eloped who were the objects of this bill. The result was, in the words of Hansard, 'The House divided, content, 9, not content, 11—majority, 2. Bill thrown out.' There follows, however, a sensible protest against this rejection of the bill, signed by Lords Holland and Lyndhurst, and the Duke of Sutherland.

The question was sure to come on again. When the position of mothers had once been argued, the nation which had sent out protectors of slaves and which was striving to put an end to one-sided and tyrannical legislation in Jamaica was not likely to neglect the suffering women at home whom tyranny had bereaved of their children. In the next session the bill was passed.

There were circumstances connected with this final effort which can never be forgotten by the lawyers who prepared the bill, the members of parliament who supported it, or any women who heard of them. For all the women of Great Britain were insulted by the methods pursued to defeat the bill. The case stands out clear from the law magazines and the reviews of the time. First, attacks

were made on the motives and characters of the originators and promoters of the bill; and this was made less difficult and more unmanly by the fact being well known that it was at the instance of a bereaved mother that redress was sought; as it is always at the instance of sufferers that remedial legislation is achieved. Next, an article appeared in the *British and Foreign Quarterly Review*, which was intended to operate against the bill, but which probably wrought the other way. This article proceeded on the supposition that all women are bent on mischief; and that the only way to manage them is to place them under the absolute despotism of their husbands. In the course of the argument or exposition, several of the most eminent ladies in Great Britain were insulted by name, and every woman in the world by implication. This article, or the substance of it, was reprinted in pamphlet form; and a copy of it was put into the hands of the peers as they entered the House, by Lord Wynford, the chief agitator against the bill. It did not answer its purpose with those peers who really knew anything of the matronage of England. The bill was read a first time in the Commons on the 30th of May, and the last time on the 28th of June. The will of the Commons had been sufficiently shown the year before. When the second reading in the Lords took place, Lord Wynford observed: 'His noble and learned friend had truly said that the custody of the children belonged by law to the father. That was a wise law, for the father was responsible for the rearing up of the children; but when unhappy differences separated the father and mother, to give the custody of the child to the father, and to allow access to it by the mother, was to injure the child; for it was natural to expect that the mother would not instil into the child any respect for the husband whom she might hate or despise. The effects of such a system would be most mischievous to the child, and would prevent its being properly brought up.' Lord Wynford did not go on to say whether he thought it would be good for the child, in the custody of a profligate father, to hear that father's way of speaking of the irreproachable mother—a way of speaking determined by the old rule that men hate those whom they have injured.

which would justify such an experiment as this for such ends. It is well that none foreknew the reverse which was at hand, and the long depression which must ensue, for none might have had courage to go into the enterprise, but that reverse served admirably as a test of the reform, and through the long depression which ensued, Mr Hill's plan, though cruelly maimed, and allowed at first no fair chance, worked well while everything else was working ill. The revenue from the Post-office went on steadily increasing, while every other branch of the national income was declining or stationary.

Some years before this time Mr Charles Knight had suggested that the best way of collecting a penny postage on newspapers would be by the use of stamped covers. Mr Hill now availed himself of this idea, acknowledging its origin. By means of a penny letter-stamp, the Post-office saved all the trouble of collecting postage, accelerated

If residents in the country adopted his suggestion of having letter boxes with a slit, affixed to the inside of their street-doors, it would have been a further important saving of time—the postman having only to drop the letters into the box, knock at the door, and run on instead of having to wait for the answer to his knock. This piece of justice to the scheme is not yet practised nearly to the extent that it ought to be, but, notwithstanding this, and many other needless impediments to the transaction of Post-office business, the quantity of work done without increase of the staff is prodigious.

Mr Hill had to endure something of the bitter disappointment which is the usual portion of great social reformers, but, from the enlightenment of the age, his mortifications were neither so complete nor so durable as those of many benefactors of society. He first proffered his plan privately to the government. Next, he published his first pamphlet on Post-office reform, when the commercial crisis of 1845-6 once and forced the scheme on the attention of the government. Mr Wallace, a select committee of the Commons to investigate and report upon the plan, in February 1838, the government declaring, in both Houses,

that the matter was under their consideration. But when it came up to parliament they, the friends of a reform, and a man named of Lord in the chamber of commons of London, literary societies, and of the bodies, which is related to the matter, that this was a matter to be trifled with. They showed their interest in a way which warmed their friends and enemies alike. By giving their little schemes, and alterations, and changes of their own, which proved only that they were very much in the direction, if not in the fact. They feared that the revenue; but they did not fear to place the matter and their little schemes side by side with the main and the scheme in which man and in which the state placed confidence. Neither they were able to stand out of the corner, but they could see that the plan was a grand scheme, which demanded to be left entire, and not to be worked by law, who had devised it, and both of them were for putting it in place, themselves, or by putting it to the public to do it—being ready, all the time, to take its weight and responsible for the disaster that might happen the with the very mutilation of the scheme. Mr. Spring Rice won for himself the title of 'the friends' friend' given by a merry newspaper when he professed his own little scheme of a new postage which should have doubled the trouble of carrying ladies' notes. When the special committee was granted, and up to nearly the close of its labours, in August 1834, the chairman—a government official—and other members of his way of thinking, declared to their friends in the clubs and in drawing-rooms, that the present agitation would probably induce a considerable reduction of the rate of postage; but, as to the adoption of Mr. Hill's plan, it was the most absurd idea that any one could entertain—too absurd to be worth a reply. Some of these gentlemen continued to say the same thing till within six weeks of the introduction of Mr. Hill's measure into the House of Commons by the chancellor of the exchequer, on the 5th of July 1839. The evidence obtained in committee was irresistible; the demand of a trial of the plan by the commercial world and the general public was irresistible; the pressure of reason and will together was irresistible; and the plan was affirmed by a

of the Hansards that they had
 ler to sell the
 property, that he might obtain his damages. The sheriffs
 were thus placed between two fires of wrath. The House
 of Commons was pledged to punish them, on the one hand,
 for daring to meddle with its printer, and the Court of
 Queen's Bench would punish them, on the other hand, if
 they refused to levy the money. Either the speaker would
 send them to Newgate, or Chief justice Denman would
 send them to the Marshalsea. Again they asked for time,
 and some delay was granted—until the 19th of December
 —for making their return. The sale was fixed for the
 17th, but to avoid the scandal and other evils of the spec-
 tacle the money was paid into the sheriffs' court on the
 night of the 16th. To put off extremities as long as
 possible, the sheriffs delayed paying the money to Stock-
 dale. The Court of Queen's Bench granted a rule calling
 upon them to show cause, on the 17th of January, why
 they did not pay the money. Meantime parliament
 assembled, and on the 16th, Lord J Russell laid the whole
 case before the House, and pressed for an immediate de-
 cision of this perplexing and dangerous matter.

The House might now either follow its ancient method
 of asserting its privilege by committing those who had
 violated it—in which case it must commit not only
 Stockdale and his attorney, Howard, but the sheriffs and
 their officers and the chief justice and his coadjutors, or
 it might yield its privileges so far as to let the Hansards
 plead, and so permit the question of privilege to come
 before the courts, or it might yield another of its privi-
 leges, by confining the circulation of its reports among its
 own members, or it might now pass a bill to authorise
 such a publication of their reports as had been made by
 Messrs Hansard. The one thing that was impossible was
 that the House could allow matters to remain as they
 were. It had unfortunately vacillated in its course, by
 authorising the Hansards to plead in one case, and for-
 bidding them to do so in the next—and now it must repair
 the mischief of its own vacillation.

The House decided on asserting its privileges. For the

sake of decency, or what was called public convenience, it would refrain from calling the judges to its bar, though it had indubitable power to do so. It would endeavour to stop the assaults upon its privileges by laying hold of the inferior officers who were acting in contempt. The sheriffs were therefore, as it was decided by a large majority, to appear at the bar of the House, bringing with them all the documents and authorities under which they had acted.

On the next night, January 17, it was decided that Stockdale should be committed under the speaker's warrant, for breach of privilege. On the 18th, the sheriffs were brought up to the bar of the House. They admitted that the money was still in their agent's hands. They were ordered to attend again on Monday the 20th. By that day it became known that the Court of Queen's Bench would the next morning be moved to compel the sheriffs to pay the money to Stockdale; and the House must therefore act vigorously this night. It decided to order the sheriffs to refund the money. The sheriffs were summoned to the bar, and appeared in their scarlet robes, when the speaker informed them of the order of the House that they should refund the money, and invited them to speak, if they had anything to say. They bowed in silence, and withdrew. Lord J. Russell then moved the commitment of the sheriffs for contempt; but the subject was left over to the next day, when two petitions were presented from the sheriffs, praying that they might not be punished for endeavouring to do their duty under the orders of the Court of Queen's Bench. Their petitions were not received, and they were committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. Stockdale's attorney, Howard, was called in; and as he expressed sorrow at having offended the House, he was merely reprimanded and discharged.

Three days afterwards, the sergeant-at-arms came to the bar of the House to know what he was to do. He had been served with a writ of Habeas Corpus from the Court of Queen's Bench, commanding him to produce the sheriffs in that court. The House directed him to inform the court that he held them in custody for breach of the privileges of the House. He took them to the court, accordingly, to make this declaration. It was a remarkable

ately busy preparing for the elections, and Lord J Russell indicated this as his reason for dropping the Poor law Bill, saying that he would not give occasion for speeches in parliament intended for the hustings. The annual sugar duties were agreed to, Sir R Peel declaring that the proper opportunity for defeating ministers was not on that occasion, but in the form of a regular vote of want of confidence. This vote he obtained on the 4th of June, by a majority of one, in a House of 623 members. His resolution was 'That her majesty's ministers do not sufficiently possess the confidence of the House of Commons to enable them to carry through the House measures which they deem of essential importance to the public welfare, and that their continuance in office under such circumstances is at variance with the spirit of the constitution.' Lord J Russell promised to make known on the next Monday the intentions of government, and on that day the avenues to the House were crowded as before.

The ministers, or a majority of them, had agreed that their best course would be to relinquish all discussion of the corn laws for the present, to take a vote of supply for the exigencies of the public service for some months to come, and then, as they could rely upon no more majorities in that House, to dissolve parliament and appeal to the country. They had tendered their advice to the crown to lose no time in dissolving parliament, and summoning a new one, in order to ascertain the opinion of the nation.

As might be expected, the House emptied rapidly after this explanation, and members dispersed themselves over the country, to manage their elections. It was universally understood that this election was of the last importance. In 1835, Sir R Peel's fine statesmanship failed, because parties were yet too strong for him—too strong yet for the forces of the reform movement. His short administration had been of use in proving the increased liberality of his tendencies, and his good faith in purposing to maintain reforms actually and deliberately achieved. Since the Whigs had declined in power and reputation, it now held no place at all in popular expectation. It remained to be seen whether the popular choice of a ruler would turn towards him or them, whether it was

not appear to the nation at large, as it did to many individual observers, as probable that Sir R. Peel would prove truly a popular leader, as it was now clearly impossible that the Whig ministry should ever be so again.

A small number of members remained in London to complete some necessary legislation; but various measures of importance were dropped. On the 22nd of June, parliament was prorogued by the queen in person to the 29th of the same month; and on the 23rd, a royal proclamation declared the parliament dissolved. The writs now issued were made returnable on the 19th of August.

Such were the circumstances under which the thirteenth parliament was dissolved, after a duration of four sessions, and nearly four years. How the nation would declare its opinions in the choice of the next was felt to be a matter of the deepest interest to the sovereign, the ministers, the land-owning peers, and the suffering people.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Queen at Guildhall—The Coronation—Her Marriage—Birth of Heir to the Throne—State of the People—Crime—*Times* Testimonial—Game Laws—Lord Suffield—Opium-eating—Church-building and Bishoprics—Religious Intolerance—Grace Darling—Agricultural Associations—India Cotton—Niger Expedition—*President* Steamer—Royal Exchange burnt—Other Fires—Balloons—Thames Conservancy—The Eglinton Tournament—Mummy Inquest—Trial of a Peer—Suicides from the Monument—India Mails—*Acarus Crossii*—Deaths—Men of Science—Travellers—Court Personages—Wealthy Personages—Politicians—Religious Philanthropists—Musicians—Architects—Artists—Actors—Men of Letters—Orientalists—Authors—Light Literature—Historians—Philosophers.

ONE of the strongest and most genial interests of the period now closing was the young queen. If the kindness and open heart of William IV. had been refreshing after the temper and manners of his predecessor, the youthfulness and gaiety of the new sovereign were now really exhilarating after the spectacle of so many years—of a feeble old man in the royal carriage. At first, the queen was in

perpetuated custom. The real antiquity which resides in such custom renders venerable the appearance of the champion at the coronation; and even endeared the grotesque devices and corporation practices which lasted in English towns till the Municipal Bill swept them all away. But in the Eglinton fête there was no such sanction; and, in spite of the host's expenditure of £40,000, the crowds who came—some from a distance of 400 miles—the personal charms of the queen of beauty, the valour and skill of the jousting knights, and the desire of every one to be pleased, there seems to have been a universal sense of failure. The weather was bad, and 'the feudal appearance of the display was sadly marred by thousands of umbrellas; . . . the queen of beauty and her ladies, instead of mounting their palfreys, were confined within their carriages.' If ever mailed knight swore at the envious clouds, it must have been the young Earl of Eglinton on these critical days.—A more genuine piece of antiquity was presented in the case of an inquest held in Ireland on a body found in a bog. The bones powdered under the touch, while the muscles were so hard that the body bore the weight of a man, and substances rebounded from striking the limbs. Our mummy, it is true, could reckon only 100 years to every 1000 of an Egyptian; but there was something affecting in its being on our own ground, and yet more in an inquest being held on a being so mysterious, of whose ways and thoughts, and goings and comings, no man could tell anything. There was a tradition of a suicide having been buried thereabouts, some hundreds of years before, but no one could say whether this were ho.

If the Eglinton tournament was not regarded with popular respect, much less was the other lordly show of this period—the trial of Lord Cardigan, for duelling offences, in the House of Lords. There is little in the affair that any one w^{ish} to dwell upon, or that needs be dwelt upon; necessary.
 Lord Cardigan, former, 0
 to time coming before the public as the aggr^{av} 10
 quarrel—the public seeing that his antagonists in these quarrels were usually mild and gentlemanly men, of rank

lower than his own in life and in the service. He was known to have connections at court, and interest at the Horse Guards; and no one could avoid the conviction, that for these reasons, an amount of social misbehaviour was passed over in him which would have immediately ruined almost every other officer in the army. After sundry adventures with his officers, in which their pride was wounded, their feelings exasperated, and their prospects ruined, by mess-room quarrels, tyranny on parade, and courts-martial, now on himself and now on an antagonist, Lord Cardigan fought a duel with a Captain Harvey Tuckett, and wounded him. As he was arrested, there was no choice but to try him; and he was tried by his peers amidst a parade and expense of which, according to universal opinion, the occasion was not worthy. Every one knew that Lord Cardigan would come off safe—duelling being regarded as it still is in our country, and Lord Cardigan's interest having already borne him safely through worse perils; but no one could have anticipated such an audacious evasion of justice as actually took place. It was admitted that certain parts of the evidence related to Captain Harvey Tuckett, and that the person in court called by that name was rightly so called; but whether the one and the other was the same Captain Harvey Tuckett was professed to be doubtful, and supposed to be purposely left so. And thus the prosecution fell to the ground. It was not without its results, however. The mockery of justice, the lavish expenditure which thus became an insult to the nation, and the additional presumption now afforded that Lord Cardigan could not be thrown off by society, however he might oppress it, all went to deteriorate the position of the peers in respect of the people, and turned the grand antique show of the trial into a very coarse modern offence. The Duke of Cleveland's reply was not forgotten, when instead of using the established form, 'Not guilty, upon my honour,' he said, 'Not guilty, *legally*, upon my honour.' Its significance was appreciated, though it did not go so far as the popular sentiment.

If any country-cousin of the next generation should observe that the summit of the London Monument does not correspond with the old pictures of it, he may learn that

of Timbuctoo. He was murdered by Arabs when about twenty five days journey from his object. He is remembered in London by his lectures at the Royal Institution on Egypt and Palestine.—The traveller on the Lehar sometimes turns aside to visit a desolate grave in a garden eight

of Lady Hester Stanhope. She was a niece of William III., and so for some years

but the greater part of her life was spent in the east where she went in a spirit of pride where she gained at first wonderful influence by her imposing pride and whence she had too much pride to return after she had discovered the hollowness of her authority. In an age of improved science hers would have been a less unhappy lot than it was. It appears that her case was one of those now known to be far from rare where those faculties operate naturally which are usually put in action by animal magnetism. She and her adherents know nothing about this and she had just enough power of insight and foresight to suggest some idea of her being inspired and to keep herself and her servants in a constant and painful state of doubt whether she was inspired or not. She saw and knew some things which others could not see or know. She had curious glimpses of prescience but she could not depend upon her powers nor always separate—any more than others of her class—realities from mere dreams. So some called her a prophetess and others called her mad and others believed her merely ill humoured. She did not know herself what she was except that as must be feared she was helpless and miserable. She passed her latter

life on she had built on one of the

fully

when sick and dying. An interest in the contrast of her early and later life from the adventures she had gone through as a kind of chieftainess of the Arabs and from the peculiarities of her powers and temper—an interest which she did not win through the afflictions. But there was a sense of relief when her death was announced in England—a sense of comfort that that restless and mysterious mind was asleep and past the

power of annoyance from without and misgiving from within.—Sir Sidney Smith's name is associated with the east in most men's minds, from his command having lain repeatedly in the Mediterranean, from his operations in Egypt, and from his great feat of saving Acre when Napoleon marched into Syria. He was a great man in his profession—the first in fame of living British admirals at the time of his death: but there are some who remember him for something else than this—for his attempt to obtain from the Vienna Congress, in 1814, the abolition of the slave-trade, and the disarming of the piratical states of Barbary. He died at Paris, in his seventy-seventh year, in May 1840.

If we look at the political department of society, we shall see that Death grouped his victims strangely at this time.

Some were as usual called away who appeared to belong wholly to a former period. The Princess Augusta died in 1840, in the same year with her brother's favourite, Beau Brummell, who had once made such a noise in the world, but who died abroad, destitute and drivelling—another added to the long list of warnings of the fate of court favourites. This was an extreme case—both the sovereign and the favourite being steeped in the vulgarity which belongs to frivolity and sensualism in an age of enlightenment and a post of high duty. But, vulgar as were the pair, the one did make the other the fashion, and the author of fashion, and then cast him off; or, as some say, compelled Beau Brummell to cast him off. The favourite's last triumph was 'cutting the prince.' Having done this, he retired to insignificance and poverty, sinking gradually into idiotcy and death. When his death was announced in England, people turned their eyes towards the court as it is now, with its centre and heart of simple domestic life, and were glad that the old court dandies were gone, and that the national offence and disgrace of court dandyism was buried with them.—Another favourite of the same prince—his wife, as she was considered by all who looked at the matter in any other light than that of the Royal Marriage Act—Mrs. Fitzherbert it ~~was~~ at the age of eighty. She was married to

was never surpassed if it was ever equalled, and his judgments may be all the more valuable for being so long waited for. Such benefits as he left behind him in this form are no more than a compensation for the mischief he did in his political capacity. Throughout a long life he was the great obstructive—the grand impediment in the way of improvement—the heavy drag upon social happiness in the country which he professed to love so well. It was a national misfortune that political power should rest in the hands of one whose mind was so narrow, whose temper was at once timid and insolent and whose heart, if ever he had one, had wasted and withered early in life. He was always fumbling for his heart and his conscience, as if to make sure that they were safe and he obuckled over them as a miser over the gold pieces he can juggle in his fob but the more he chuckled over his hoarded heart and conscience, the less use they were of to anybody else, till at last the world doubted whether he had either. The memoirs of his life present him as the prince of egotists and as he had lived the life he died the death of the egotist. As he more and more viewed all things in their relation to his personal complacency, and as the world did not slacken its course as age and infirmity withdrew him from its activity, he suffered more and more from jealousy and discontent. There was less of his graceful playfulness, and more of watchfulness fewer jokes, and more suspicions and pets till even his vigilant life could keep awake no longer, and he had to leave his fields and his woods and the fame and authority he had so long and tenaciously vindicated and content himself with those deserts which he estimated so highly and those pleasures of conscience which he had incessantly spoken of as of a kind of special grant from Providence to himself. When he was gone the nation anxiously acquitted itself of its obligations to him the kingdom echoed with acknowledgments of his ability and learning and pride of his political consistency, his pale free and feeble form were missed in the House of Lords and in the law-courts his name was ushered in with compliments, but there is no doubt that, if it had been possible, everybody would have been as sorry to see him back again as to witness a revival of the

times of which he was the animating spirit. The posthumous homage was not hypocritical: it sprang from the uneasy desire to do justice all the more conscientiously, because the heart gives no help. Lord Eldon died in January 1838, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.—His old comrade, Lord Sidmouth, was almost as old—past eighty when Lord Eldon died. He was gradually declining in health, though not in clearness of mind. He was always an amiable man, even when spending his days in setting traps for conspirators, and hunting traitors. He did those things as an indubitable professional duty. When he had done, he enjoyed a serene conscience, free from misgivings as to his dealings with the ignorant, the hungry, and the exasperated. His business was with the throne, and not with the people. He thought his successors unaccountably rash and supine in ceasing to coerce the people, and therein to guard the throne; but he had done with business, and it was their affair. So he resigned himself gently to infirmity and decline, looked upon Lord Eldon's departure as a reminder that he must soon follow; and died, when he had reached Lord Eldon's age, in February 1844—twenty years after his retirement from official life.

Zachary Macaulay died during the period under review, one of the most strenuous labourers of the friendly company who toiled so hard for the abolition of slavery; and his and Wilberforce's friend, Mr. Simeon, the originator of the Evangelical movement at Cambridge, by which so much was done in the way of the purchase of advowsons, to fill the pulpits of the Establishment with men who should revive the spirit of religion in the lukewarm Church. Mr. Simeon held the same living at Cambridge for fifty-three years; and saw before his death, in his seventy-eighth year, such a revival in the Church as he had little anticipated; a revival—partly incited by his own—of the High-Church spirit which has always hitherto been found incompatible with human liberty, and hostile to peace on earth, and good-will to men. At Mr. Simeon's funeral, 2000 mourners followed the coffin, and his departure was regarded by his adherents almost as that of an apostle.—Joseph Lancaster, who invented and tried the method of

really were the Christian Scriptures that were given them, and, in the case of Dr Morrison's catechisms and tracts, how far his ideas could be communicated to the Chinese. But beginnings must be made. The zeal and benevolence of both men were unquestionable, and their learning was no doubt as reliable as the times permitted, and certainly greater than that of any other men known among us. One important part of their work was the establishment of colleges and other institutions, by which preparation is made for a more real and less dangerous intercourse with the oriental mind hereafter. Dr Carey reached an advanced age. Dr Morrison died in his fifty third year, from the consequences of exposure on the Canton River, while acting as interpreter to Lord Napier amidst the disastrous transactions which will have to be presently related.—Sir Charles Wilkins was one of the first English students of Sanskrit and he it was who originated our Bengalee and Persian publications, by his ingenuity and skill in preparing the requisite types with his own hands. This was in the last century, for he was eighty five when he died in London in 1836.—His son in law, Mr Marsden, also a great orientalist, followed in the next year, leaving us much new knowledge about Sumatra and the Malayan Archipelago, several dictionaries and grammars of eastern languages, and a singular collection of oriental coins, which he presented to the British Museum. He was but little younger than his father in law, having attained the age of eighty-one. He presented his noble library to King's College, London, and resigned because he did not want it, his rewarding pension of £1500 a year. This was an honourable life of industry, usefulness, and disinterestedness.—The most eminent Chinese scholar left after these losses, Thomas Manning, departed also in 1840. The mystery which hung about China when he was — so completely took possession of his imagination, — that he was at home but the studies — — — — — it out to the east, and tried long — — — — — vain, to penetrate China, either by Canton or into Tibet. He got in at last, in the train of Lord Amherst, in 1816

His first publication, when he was quite young, was on algebra; and he would have been eminent as a mathematician, if China had not come in the way. The readers of Charles Lamb's letters know how jealous he was of the China—the unrepaying China—which deprived him of Manning's society for so many of the best years of their lives.

Charles Lamb had already been some time gone when Manning died. That gentle genius, heroic and genial, enjoying and suffering, at once—sportful and enduring—noble and frail—loving others as an angel might, and himself beloved as an infant and a rage in one—departed while he could yet ill be spared, before he had passed his sixtieth year. He was one who could never, at any age, have been willingly spared while his mind could work and play, and his hesitating speech could convey its burden of thought, and pathos, and wild wit; but his special work in life—the guardianship of his accomplished, but infirm and dependent sister—was not done when an accident—a fall—whose consequences were fatal—disposed of the matter, and gave a new tenderness to the pathos, and a solemnity to the wit, of the *Essays of Elia*, which had been read before under a hope that, while Elia lived, we might have more. Charles Lamb was an exquisite ornament of his time—as he would have been of any time; and he was its serious benefactor too, in as far as he called out and fostered the spirit of geniality, in which, above everything, our time is deficient. There seems to be a prevalent impression that he was of greater mark than his writings will account for; and this is probably owing to the spirit of those writings being far higher than their pretensions—that they were so instinct with genius, that their form, and even their amount, is a matter of little concern.—An aged lady died in 1838, whose name should not be omitted, though it belongs only to the lightest order of literature, and had long lost the great distinction it had once enjoyed—Mrs. Grant of Laggan. Her *Memoirs of an American Lady* were interesting before the United States were as familiar to us as they are now; and her *Letters from the Mountains* are a good example of the epistolary style in literature. She lived to feel extreme surprise at the

government and society in England at this day are the better for the astuteness and the audacity, the truth and the error, the depth and the shallows, the generosity and the injustice of Godwin, as manifested in his *Political Justice*; and thus he was one—though perhaps the most unpalatable—of the benefactors of his age. Many who do not regard him from this point of view are grateful for his wonderful novels—*Caleb Williams* and *St. Leon*. These are but a small portion of his works; but they are those by which he is best known. He controverted Malthus, he wrote a *History of the Commonwealth*, and a series of historical books for children; and in short, was busy with his pen through the greater part of a long life. He was the husband of Mary Wellstonecraft, whom he lost a few months after their marriage. In his old age, a small sinecure office was given him by the Grey ministry, with rooms in connection with the House of Commons; and there he loved to show the old Star-chamber which was so soon to be destroyed before his face; and to exhibit the tallies, the burning of which was to occasion the destruction. On the night of the fire, he was at the theatre; and when it became clear that his chambers were in danger, his strong-minded old wife would not have him alarmed by a message, but managed to remove his property before he returned to the worst part of half afterwards, when he quietly sank out of the life he loved so well, in the eighty-first year of his age.

The interests of the period now closing were so various, so widely spread, and, through the weakness of the . . . that it has been a task of no . . . and present them . . . section. We have now before us the closing period of this history, in which the events seem to draw together in their very magnitude, and to prescribe their own order, which will be interrupted only by some necessary retrospect here and there.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

General Election—New Parliament—Queen's Speech—The Address amended—Queen's Household changed—Resignation of Ministers.

THE general election of 1841 was one of extraordinary importance. It was not that any one great question was now, as in 1831, to be settled by a House of Commons which should be, in fact, an assemblage of delegates; but that something yet more important should be done. The ministers hoped, and apparently believed, that the country would support them on the free-trade question as it had done on the parliamentary reform question; and they calculated on beginning a new career in virtue of their proposal of a fixed duty on corn. But in this they were three times mistaken. The people were not yet ready for such a struggle on this question as they had gone through ten years before for a greater; if they had been ready, the free-traders could not have carried their point under those oppressive provisions of the Reform Bill which secured the preponderance of the landed interest in the representation; and again, they had not that confidence in the government which could stimulate them to any effectual effort on behalf of the government proposition. Nothing had happened for some years to give them any confidence in the Whig administration; and much had happened every year to prevent their trusting Lord Melbourne and his colleagues with the subject of the corn-laws. The ministers who carried the Reform Bill had advocated parliamentary reform for a long course of years—had seen the truth, and spoken for it, and were fit to act in its behalf when the season came; but the men who now to be reformers on the corn question had, both to of

Men had waited long if not patiently, for this issue, and the general satisfaction was evident enough. Perhaps it was worth waiting so long to see the exhaustion so complete. It afforded every needful advantage to the incoming administration, and it yielded a striking lesson to all governments and their constituents. No government had a fairer chance than that of the Whigs from popular and royal favour—no government had a clearer task to perform, or more aids and supports and stimulus in the performance and, when it became apparent where the want of strength and clearness lay—that their principles were weak their views obscure their purposes fluctuating their knowledge deficient and their political honour relaxed—no ministry of such popular promise ever sank so low. It was well for the political morality of the country that the case was so clear—made so clear at last by the suicidal appeal to the country in the elections. This clear exposition of the case might afford some reparation—the only reparation possible—for the mischief of a long retention of office by men who could not with all means of power in their hands govern the country. The people, who had for years been divided between apathy and fretfulness under a tenacious but helpless administration might now hope to enjoy the repose of confidence in the midst of activity in obtaining reforms. They would now have able men, in a united cabinet to deal with and it would depend much on themselves what the direction should be that the ability of the ministry should take. If the Peel cabinet should prove a reforming one that would be the best thing that could happen. If it should prove still too conservative there was now a fair field of opposition open in which the political life of the country could exercise itself, and ascertain how much energy it could still command.



CHAPTER III

Policy of China—State of China—The Opium Question—British	
Superint	
Opium	
China	1
—Sir H	
Governor	
Pottinger's Testimony	

For more than a century past—ever since our relations with India became a matter of popular interest—it has been a subject of speculation or observation why there was so little war in the heart of Asia among those steppes which according to all analogy would be supposed likely to be the scene of constant or ever renewed warfare. While in the centre of every other great continent, there are interminable lands apparently necessitated by geographical conditions, the interior of Asia where the same geographical conditions exist has, for above a century, been as quiet as if it had been a maritime territory. The great table-lands are then rising shelf above shelf, till it dizzies the imagination to mount the vast stair from the steaming plains of the Ganges and the Cambaja up from height to height of the Himalayas and the Snowy Mountains finding at the top but little descent on the other side but again range above range of table-land, still rising till that deep interior is reached which no stranger may penetrate except some wandering Russian trader or adventurous pilgrim who once in a century or two may get in if he cannot get across. The ordinary and necessary population of such lands is there—the Tibetan and Mon-

a century

The reason is that a policy of peace has been the deliberate choice of the empire of China. There is no chance

in the matter; if there were, the chances for war would be overwhelming. It is an affair of deliberate choice and fixed principle, in regard to which the whole arrangements of the empire have been made. There is no regular army in China—not because the Chinese are ignorant of armies and war-policy, but because they dread a military sovereignty, and military contests for the throne. The statesmen of China are ready to explain, when they can find foreigners able to understand their language, and willing to know their minds, that they abjure conquest for the same reasons which make them avoid danger of a military despotism; because they desire a settled and industrial mode of life for their people, and to restrain the tribes of the interior by an immutable course of policy, rather than by force of arms. This method is partly suggested, and altogether favoured, by the natural defences of the country. If war can be prevented from springing up in the great interior plains, their bounding mountains may keep the empire pretty safe from foreign invasion. All along the vast Siberian frontier, and that of Independent Tartary, and along the northern spurs of the Himalayas, there is a militia—Manchoo, Mongolian, and Tibetan—whose rough organisation is of a feudal character, and which serves as a sufficient defence of the empire without any trained army. As for the sea-board—till lately, the Chinese had no foe to contend with but pirates; and their rude vessels are able to cope with that enemy. When the possibility of assaults from Europe and America presented itself to them, they declare that they weighed the comparative merits of two plans; and here again deliberately made their choice—to abide by their peace-policy. If they set to work to raise a navy, they must be taught, aided, and officered by foreigners; and from that moment, both their objects—civil sovereignty and unbroken peace—would be in peril: the other plan was therefore chosen; and, on demand, commercial advantages were granted to Europeans and Americans, as far as this could be done without breach of the exclusive policy of the empire, and only as a less evil than war. In both its aims, the Chinese Empire succeeded for a longer period than it is usual to see empires pursue definite aims. There have been no conflicts

thirteen months afterwards, on the 28th of November 1836, that he has received no despatches 'conveying his lordship's sentiments or instructions relative to the quiescent course of policy he had deemed it his duty to persevere in,' this quiescent policy ;

part, as he was all the consular nature' He has

answer His salary of £6000 a year was not to be paid for quiescence and we find him, on the 14th of December, acknowledging the arrival of an intimation that his office was abolished Yet, Lord Palmerston wrote, within five weeks before, to Captain Elliot, that a deputy superintendent had been appointed 'to act as assistant to the chief superintendent' and Captain Elliot immediately assumed the title laid down by Sir G B Robinson The inevitable impression on the minds of observers was, that the 'quiescent' agent was dismissed to make room for one who would make more noise in the Chinese seas

In 1838 the opium smuggling had reached such a pass that the government at Peking evinced an intention of abolishing the traffic at last Our own government had been repeatedly advised of the growing danger by Captain Elliot, who, in November 1837, foretold that the authorities would be driven to some violent measures from the injurious audacity of Europeans, who actually carried opium up the Canton River in their own boats He advised that a special commissioner should be sent out to Chusan, or some other eastern port of China, to settle this bad business in a fresh scene, at a distance from the embarrassments which now attended all negotiations at Canton The government declined taking any steps of the kind

Captain Elliot's position was now as difficult as could well be conceived and in judging of his conduct of affairs, it should ever be borne in mind that he was left cruelly destitute of guidance from home Some of the gravest letters he wrote, the most pressing and anxious, were received in Downing Street on the 17th of July, yet Lord Palmerston sent no reply whatever till the 2nd of November Among the items of information thus treated was one of the last importance—that a high official had sent a memorial to the emperor at Peking, advising that the

sale of opium should be legalised, under a duty of seven dollars per chest. The banishment of this adviser to Tartary was an indication of vigorous resolution to put down the sale of opium, which should have roused our government to immediate activity in stopping the illicit trade, instead of waiting nearly four months without even answering Captain Elliot's letters. The answers at last conveyed no instructions or guidance to the anxious superintendent; and seven months more passed before Lord Palmerston wrote again—the date of the next despatch from Downing Street being the 15th of June 1838. At last, some decision had been come to by the government; and it was one very embarrassing to Captain Elliot, from being so long delayed. The government resolved, very properly, to leave the opium-smugglers to meet the consequences of their ventures, in the loss of their property, if the Chinese government chose to decree its forfeiture. If this had been made known at the proper time, neither the merchants nor the superintendent would have had any cause of complaint.

Before the end of the year, a seizure of opium, the property of a British trader, was made at Canton; and the man, and the ship that brought his merchandise, were ordered out of the river. Yet more, the Hong merchant who secured the ship and cargo was punished with the severe punishment of the wooden collar, though he had nothing whatever to do with the offence. The decision of the question was evidently coming on.

In January 1839, proclamation was made in Canton of the approach of the imperial commissioner, Lin, whose business was to abolish the opium-traffic, and who came furnished with summary powers for the purpose. Just before the great man appeared, a native opium-smuggler was brought into the square before the foreign factories, and publicly strangled, amidst much pomp of military array. As soon as he arrived, Commissioner Lin issued his edict, requiring the foreigners to deliver up to him all the opium on the coast, in order to its being destroyed by burning; that a bond should be entered into that ships should bring no more opium; and that, if any were brought after this, it should be forfeited, and the

terms no better than ours did. The emperor rejected the treaty, and resolved on war. Sir Gordon Bremer immediately started for Calcutta to obtain reinforcements, and Admiral Senhouse assumed the command in China.

The next movement was an attack by the British, no otherwise provoked than by the spectacle of increasing arrivals of Tartar troops at Canton during six weeks of truce and partial trading. This attack took place on the 24th of May. In two days Canton was all but taken. It lay completely in the power of the British, and Sir Hugh Gough and Admiral Senhouse, who accompanied him into the field, were in high hope of presently announcing the capture of the city when the superintendent again interfered, and desired them to wait while another treaty was negotiated. Sir H. Gough never concealed his mortification, and Sir L. Fleming Senhouse retired to his ship seattered with disappointment, and died heart broken on the 14th of June. Four days after this mournful death Sir Gordon Bremer returned, and he was announced to the Chinese as joint-commissioner with Captain Elliot. But their task was taken out of their hands by the arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger, on the 9th of August—presently after which the displaced superintendent sailed for Bombay.

Sir Henry Pottinger made a spirited announcement of his intention of closing the war at once, regardless of all mercantile and other retarding considerations and devoting himself to compel the Chinese to conclude a peace honourable to England. No time indeed, was lost. Before the end of the month the city of Amoy was taken, and a garrison was left in an island in the harbour. When the mandarin who was second in command saw that all was over he rushed into the sea and drowned himself, and another cut his throat upon the field. Early in September Chusan and its city were again taken though they were now much better defended than formerly. The large city of Ningpo fifteen miles inland, fell undefended into the hands of the invaders, and wherever the British now appeared little or no resistance was made. An interval of some months however, revived the courage of the inhabitants, and in March, a great body of Chinese came over the walls of Ningpo early in the morning, to recover

the place. The British saw them, and took no notice till the market-place was full of them, when our troops brought up some guns, and made such slaughter, that 250 bodies were left upon the place. There is little record of any loss on our part, though the despatches tell here and there of 'severe loss,' 'a heavy fire,' and so on. We read of battles and sieges with a loss, in one place of fifteen lives, in another of two, in another of none: only 'a few casualties from the arrows of the Chinese.'

Month after month passed away, and Sir H. Pottinger had not compelled a peace, though the forces took cities, and destroyed barracks, magazines and fortifications, wherever they chose to turn. The appearance of the troops before Nankin settled matters at last, in the summer of 1842. It was the 26th of August, more than a year after Sir H. Pottinger's arrival, when the treaty of peace was finally concluded on between three Chinese and the British commissioner.

By this treaty, the British were authorised to trade freely at four ports besides Canton, and to establish consuls there. The island of Hong-Kong was ceded to them; and they were to hold Chusan and another island till all the conditions of the treaty were fulfilled. Correspondence between officials of the two governments was henceforth to be conducted on equal terms. The Chinese were to pay to the British the sum of 21,000,000 of dollars (£4,375,000) by instalments, in addition to 6,000,000 (£1,250,000) already paid by the authorities at Canton as compensation for the opium destroyed. The instalments of Chinese silver continued to arrive in England at intervals, till all was paid; and thoughtless people in the roads and streets walked beside the heavy waggons with complacency; and others, present at the opening of the chests, looked at the curious coin with amusement and pride. They were led into this by members of the government and of parliament, who called this 'a just, and necessary, and honourable war,' and by the common run of newspapers, which detailed every fault in the circumstances and civilisation of the Chinese, as if we were called as missionaries or liberators to set things right; or imputed bad motives to the emperor in interdicting opium.

It has been mentioned that Russia had obtained a footing in Persia, as was shown by the emperor being appointed *guardian of the succession to the throne* though the arrangement was frustrated by an unexpected death. When Mr Ellis, our envoy, arrived in Persia in 1835 he found the Russian alliance more prized by the young shah than the British, and that the emperor's influence was paramount though it was by means of English money and the assistance of British officers, that the shah was seated peaceably on the Persian throne. Such intelligence, arriving in England when the fashion of the time was to fear the power and craft of Russia, revived the old apprehension that Russia might, sooner or later, begin in earnest her work of conquering Great Britain by getting possession of her Indian territories. Once in close alliance with Persia, and excluding England from friendship and influence there the emperor would find only Cabool and the Punjab lying between his armies and our possessions. The matter was made worse—the case more alarming—by the fact that the shah was at that time, 1835, preparing to make war on the ruler of Herat, and thus to get a footing in the territory of Cabool. In the opinion of the British envoy there really was good cause for the expedition against Herat but the ministers of the shah did not conceal from Mr Ellis that they had no idea of stopping short at that point, but intended to claim sovereignty for Persia over Ghuznee and Candahar, that is almost as far as the frontier of the Punjab. In our existing treaty with Persia bearing date from 1814 it was provided that Great Britain should take no part whatever, unless as a mediator for peace-making purposes by request of both parties, in any war between Persia and Afghanistan. This clause rendered it impossible for us to interfere on the present occasion, though the Russian ambassador to Persia evidently supposed that we should—the desire of England being well known to be that the quarrels among the rulers of Afghanistan should be healed, and the country made strong by the concentration of its districts under one ruler. It seemed to be fear of British interference with the claims of Persia over the great cities of Afghanistan that made the Russian ambassador so eager

for the reduction of Herat as to offer his own military services in the expedition.

Mr. Ellis warned the Persian government of the extreme displeasure with which Great Britain would regard any attempt of Persia over Afghanistan, beyond that of settling its quarrel at Herat; and he proposed that that dispute should be disposed of by negotiation, rather than by war. The Persian ministers appeared to agree to this at first, but soon evaded his offer to send a British officer to Herat for the purpose of settling the affair; Mr. Ellis daily seeing the probability draw nearer of Russian consular agents being established in the great towns up to the very borders of the Punjaub. Under such circumstances, Persia would no longer be an out-work for the defence of India, as she had hitherto been considered, but rather must be watched as an advanced-post of the enemy.

There were endless quarrels among the rulers of different cities and districts of the Cabool territory, whether of the same or different families. It would merely confuse our narrative to go at length into these. It is sufficient to say here that the ruler of Herat was the only prince in the country of the race of the founder of the Afghan Empire. The rulers of Cabool and Candahar were usurpers; and they were derived on one side of their house from the Persians through the Kuzzilbashes—the tribe of descendants of the Persian soldiers who were stationed in the mountains north of the city of Cabool. There being thus some ground of alliance between these princes and the shah, Mr. Ellis was further alarmed by their offering to support the shah against the ruler of Herat, if he would aid them on the side of the Punjaub, where they were in fear of the power of Runjeet Singh. A similar application was made, at the same time, to the court of Russia. It appeared as if everything was conspiring to bring Russia, Persia, and the rulers of Afghanistan at once, in armed alliance, within a stone's cast of our Indian frontier. It thus became all-important, in the view of the British officials at the Persian court, to secure the independence of Herat; and when terms of reconciliation were offered by the ruler of Herat, the shah

tion of Peshawar, but, as we have said, the Bombay troops had a troublesome passage through Sindh. In fact, they had to fight their way up, taking cities along their course. The Bengal force therefore went down to the south west to meet them, and the junction was effected at Shikarpore, within the boundaries of Sindh near the Afghan frontier. The command of the expedition was given to Sir John Keane, the Bombay commander-in-chief. The meeting was not a very cheering one. Shah Soojah was there, with his troops who formed the centre of the army. The British forces had suffered much from the fatigues of the way, and yet more from the attacks of the Beloochees, who by no means approved this invasion of the state which adjoined theirs on the north by means of humbling that which lay on the east. The army was already more reduced than by a great battle. But the worst was before them. It was March, and the heat in the jungles was overpowering while in the mountain passes snow drove in the soldiers' faces. The Beloochees were always like a whirlwind in flank and rear—never in front—catching up every straggler, and sweeping off camels, provisions, and baggage. The enemy dammed up the rivers, so as to flood the plains, and the force had to wade for miles together, between dike and dike, with only the jungle in alternation. The days of their going through the Bolan Pass were great days for the banditti of the region and for their chief, the holder of the strong fortress of Khelat, who was now negotiating with the British political agent on the one hand, while, on the other, he was sending out his robber force to strip the army in the Bolan Pass. The tents that were left among the rocks and snow, the camels and their loads were the booty of the Beloochee. The British officers wrote home that the march had no parallel but in the retreat of the French from Moscow. Candahar was undefended—its prince having repaired to his brother, Dost Mohammed, at Cabool. The aged Shah

the 24th of April, and was
 loud expressions of joy,
 covered their discontent for
 spent in recruiting the
 After a collecting provisions, Sir J.
 of the army, and Ghiznee—one of the strongest
 proceeded to attack fortified country. The journey
 of that strongly fort the siege and storming of
 and tedious, dragged. The son of Dost Mo-
 were admirably man; and the Dost himself, on
 was taken prisoner his force, and left Cabool to
 the news, dispersed on the 7th of August.

who entered it that all was done. Dost
 The now supposed have fled into Bokhara; new
 Mohammed was known to be the place of such chiefs as
 were appointed to restored sovereign; and the
 acknowledge the taken by General Willshire.
 of Khelat where there were nothing hollow in
 rejoiced as if the Dost was not to come back,
 conquest—as if it, nor Khelat to be taken from
 to rise very soon. Sir J. Keane left
 of which small for a position so dubious;
 too a men, there were far too many
 were too few slightest knowledge of the
 That to have shown the managers
 of the people ought no place yet for the residence
 that this was children, or for thousands of
 and young about the soldiery, whose
 at any moment. In the
 efforts might be required the whole series of transac-
 which marks encouraged any and every
 Alexander Burnes in Cabool, where he culti-
 sit down beside his some letters to Scotland, and
 wrote that he was soon to be murdered;
 political resident, never
 appointed in the same place; and
 his in the confidence of these
 shamed the government at home
 with a haste which now looks
 and of the ministry and parlia-
 were Mr.

For two months after this, all was unmitigated wretchedness. General Sale was hoped for—looked for—but he did not come. He could not, and his wife and comrades were told it was because his soldiers had forsaken him. General Nott never came—also because he still could not. Ammunition failed, and, what was if possible worse, food failed. The commissariat fort which stood detached, as has been said, was taken, through sheer inertness and mismanagement of the authorities. There had been three possible courses for the British—to go back to India, to remain in cantonments, in a state of defence till aid should arrive, or to go to the Bala Hissar, and crowd in there, sacrificing the horses but securing human life at least, till reinforcements should come. All these were difficult and dangerous and each entailed great sacrifices, but a vigorous adoption of any one would have left some chance to somebody. But there was no vigour, no concert—the few who were fit to command, and the many who were ready to act, were paralysed by neglect and prohibitions. The insulting enemy hovered round, and picked off every straggler, and especially all the messengers whom they could hit. Then, there was talk of treaties and the wretched envoy—the most responsible man, and yet disabled by the imbecility of the general—caught at every false hope thus held out. Rather than endure the daily sight of the perishing force, he went out to treat—even falling into the snare of negotiating an underhand treaty which no man in any but a desperate condition would have believed attainable—and thus losing something of his honour in the eyes of the enemy. He went out to treat saying to his companions what has been quoted of the horrors of the last six weeks and was seized by Akber Khan himself, and murdered on the spot. Those who saw the two faces tell of them as what can never be forgotten. Akber Khan's charged with 'diabolical ferocity'—Sir W. McNaghten's with 'horror and astonishment'. The Afghans made a play thing of his head, with its green spectacles, and held up one of his severed hands at the prison window of the officers who had been rescued by the intervention of Afghan chiefs. Captain Trevor, whose wife and seven children were with the force, was murdered

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treaty with the Ameers, by which the British authorities believed that equivalent advantages were secured to the two parties. The Ameers, however, thought otherwise—estimating the privileges of their hunting grounds along the Indus more highly than the British ruler conceived of when he stipulated that we should have liberty to cut wood for our steamers along the whole line of the river-banks. The treaty was forced upon them, they were irritated, their Beloochee followers were furious and drove out the resident who had negotiated the treaty and his few followers from their fort, compelling them to take refuge on board a steamer in the river. The attack was made on the 15th of February. The next day, Sir C Napier went after the Ameers to see what they were about, and found them encamped with 22,000 men—seven times the amount of his own force. Early in the morning, he brought his small force to bear upon their great army, routed it, and captured all the enemy's artillery and ammunition, their standards, and their camp with all that it contained. The Ameers yielded up their swords, and after another victory, Sindh was ours. Sir C Napier has never concealed the fact, however, that his conquest of Sindh was determined on before the attack on the resident, and would have taken place just the same if that had never happened. The battle of Meeanee was a great one, valorously and skilfully conducted, and the thanks of parliament were voted to Sir C Napier and his coadjutors in consideration of it. but we feel no more moral satisfaction in the contemplation of these events, and the thoughts of our new territory, than in considering our Afghan campaign. We have no business in Sindh, and it is a matter for the inhabitants, and not for us, to decide upon, whether they prefer the government of the Ameers, or the 'mild sway' which we recommend to them as that of the British government. Probably the Beloochees know too much of our invasion of Afghanistan, and of the condition in which we left it, to have much belief in the mildness and justice of our sway. Meantime a residence in Sindh is a sort of purgatory to Anglo-Indians. The people are manifestly hostile, and the soil and atmosphere most unfavourable to health. Mutiny, the most dreaded of all

events in India, was occasioned in 1844, by the mere order to march to Sind; and a regiment was ignominiously broken up, on account of its refusal.

We have not done yet with these melancholy Indian victories, and the questionable rejoicings over them at home. The people of Gwalior, in the Scindia dominion, in the heart of our north-western possessions, were disturbed and riotous. We were bound by treaty to give aid in such a case, under certain requisitions: we now interfered without such requisition, on the assumption that it would have been made if a young prince had been old enough; and entered the territory, 'not as an enemy, but as a friend to the Maharajah.' We established 'a strong government,' according to British ideas, and were about to depart; but the Mahrattas were not disposed to let us march off so quietly. They challenged us to two great battles, in which the British were victors; and Lord Ellenborough, who was near or on the spot, taking the interest of a strong partisan in the conflict, issued more high-sounding proclamations about the glory of British arms on the plains of Sindia, and the blessings of British intervention within the walls of Gwalior.

One melancholy department of the history of the Russian alarmists in India is the fate of the officers who were employed in anti-Russian missions. Lieutenant Wyburd, a young officer of spirit and enterprise, who was sent on a secret mission to Khiva in 1835, was not heard of again till Colonel Stoddart, as reported by Dr. Wolff, learned at Bokhara that he had been early murdered. Colonel Stoddart himself was sent on a government-mission to Bokhara, and Captain Conolly, in the place of Lieutenant Wyburd, to Khiva and Khokan, with instructions to repair to Bokhara, if sent for by Colonel Stoddart. He was so sent for; and there they were executed together, in July 1843, after long suffering from loathsome imprisonment, and the besetting sense of the precariousness of their life. Those who knew the open-faced, handsome Charles Stoddart, the spirited school-boy, who counted the days till he could begin being a hero, suffered much under the obscure rumours that floated home from time to time—that he was imprisoned in a well, swarming with reptiles; that he

The necessity which ordained this destiny for him suspended the utter disintegration of parties in order to give him all needful provisional supports. There was the free-trade party—strong and conspicuous but necessarily only provisional, because the free trade question is exhaustible. When trade is made free in all departments, there is an end. For the same reason the Protectionist party is necessarily a temporary one. It is from the moment its policy is broken in upon, a mere protesting party, advocating a negation or mere passiveness. The haymaker can protest against a thunder shower only for a time. When the shower is over there is no more room for protest. The present dissolution and future now constitution of parties arose from that operation of Sir Robert Peel's policy, which must without leave asked of him or of anybody else abolish the old antagonism between the landed and commercial interests of our country. From the earliest days, these two interests have been supposed to be antagonistic by their very nature. We have seen how an opportunity was lost at the time of municipal reform of reconciling the two interests so far as to bring the rural districts under a government as good and free as that of the towns. We shall see throughout this final period of our history, how incessantly and completely parliament took it for granted that the landed and commercial interests always must be in opposition because they always have been. But we shall also see something else. We shall see how the Anti Corn Law League demonstrated a unity of interests between the agricultural and manufacturing populations and how the crowning measures of this period provide for their future union, and therefore for the abolition of those party distinctions which have through our whole parliamentary history been founded on their division. By the crowning acts of this period provision is made for the application of science skill and economy in the manufacture of food just like that which takes place in the manufacture of clothing and utensils. By them provision is made for a vast increase in the stationary or dwindling agricultural population—an increase which will be the natural consequence of an improved provision

of work and demand for labour, as science and skill augment the productiveness and production of the soil. As this goes on—as the increase of the agricultural population once more competes with that of the manufacturing, and thereby recovers something of its popular dignity; and as both populations see more and more that their interests are identical and not opposite—that they live under the same great natural laws of society, and flourish most as they are equally regarded by the parliamentary laws of Great Britain—there must be less and less discussion of ‘the preponderance of the landed interest in parliament’—at least, in the House of Commons; less and less jealousy about class legislation; not only more equality before the law, but more unity under the policy of a future day. There will be then no place for political distinctions on the ground of the opposition between the agricultural and the commercial interests, and whatever may be the vital principles of parties in that day, they will certainly be something quite unconnected with the old antagonism which received its death-sentence in the repeal of the corn-laws.

A little party arose during this period which would, if it could, have protracted this antagonism—both directly, by its agricultural predilections, and indirectly, by perpetuating a social state which had reached its term, or even reviving one which had passed away. No one could wonder that when the great ‘stream of tendency’ was showing its full rapidity, there were many who, rather than trust themselves to it, put back into some little cove, not only to protest at leisure against the sweeping tide, but to gather together on the banks sticks and straws, and meadow-garlands, to make and deck a weir. This was natural, and men did not wonder at it; but it could not be successful; and the ‘Young England’ party therefore did not enable the landed interest to retain its special protection and ancient prerogative for a single hour. The idea of the Young England party, in regard to the condition of the people, was that all would be well if the ancient relation between the rich and the poor could be restored—if the rich could, as formerly, take charge of the poor with a protecting benevolence, and the poor depend upon the

their manure more costly than it was worth. In 1839, a particularly unpopular set of gates, which the people believed to be illegally erected, were pulled down, on the borders of Caermarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. The magistrates declared their intention of overruling the

and primitive people of the district, who, on their own, knew little of the world outside, and spoke nothing but Welsh. They held meetings in by corners, or remote places of their wild district, and organised their remarkable conspiracy. They resolved to destroy all gates and toll houses that they considered objectionable, and to persist till the trustees could not afford to put up any more. Their first enterprise had been a sort of frolic—the gates having been pulled down in open day by a mob with uncovered faces. They would be more serious and cautious henceforth. Out of the many texts of Scripture

her, 'Let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them.' They chose a chief, dressed him in woman's clothes, put a large disguising bonnet on his head, and named him Rebecca, calling his followers Rebecca's daughters. The Rebecca, strolling about in petticoats or riding astride with streamer or cloak or shawl, was so ubiquitous that there was nothing given to any leader.

In the winter of 1842 the rioters began their work, and that winter will never be forgotten while tradition endures in Wales. By day, all was quiet enough. The most vigilant of the constabulary could see nothing but the ordinary sights of the roads and fields—no groups in consultation, no mysterious looks—nothing but jogging riders who duly paid their tolls and people about their proper business in their fields or their home. If there was a suspicion of an intended attack on any particular gate, that gate was sure to be left in place, and while it was watched, half a dozen were levelled at some opposite point.

y—in one case, within a quarter of a mile of the country magistrates. If the toll-keepers looked out the assembledly, they were sure not to see any approaching apprehensively, or token. If they went outside to listen, light or other near. But, when they were forgetful or nobody came, were roused by the blare of a multitude of asleep, they had the popping of a dozen guns; their door cow-horns, and they saw a crowd, some on horses, and was burst open—some in women's clothes, and others with some on foot—with the flaring torches, and the glittering veiled faces—tchets. The toll-takers must move out their saws and hallose it; and strong hands helped to carry bed furniture or utensils into the field or the dry ditch, while and table and sawing off the gate-posts close to the ground, others were setting up the gate. Then off came the roof of the and chopping and down came the walls, and up came the toll-house, a very floor; the road was made clear for passages of the; then the uncouth creatures leaped on their sengers; and, hallooed, blew their horns, fired their guns, horses again off to some distant point, which they would and galloped dead stillness, as in this case. The toll-taker approach in, usually found themselves left alone under the and his wife, very few minutes after their first start in bed, stars in a warm fireside. Latterly, it was usual for the or by their some galloping up, as soon as Rebecca and her soldiers to be completely out of sight and hearing. After children were pause, to learn which way the rioters were gone, an instant's would be off at full speed, arriving perhaps the soldiers, their toll-keeper and his wife under the stars, to find another just out of sight again. Or, more probably, and Rebecca their way; for the peasantry competed with they missed in misdirecting the dragoons. Thus, in the each other, Llanfair, nearly eighty gates were destroyed; county of Carmarthen, nearly eighty gates were destroyed; and in Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire few remained. Those few were the old-established gates, which were not meddled with. Those which were most zealously destroyed were the new gates put up on by-roads leading to lime-kilns. The small farmers burned their own lime for manure; and The small few contractors for the tolls had insisted on since the gates on the way to the kilns, the farmers had putting up, for their load of stone, another for their load of to pay 1s. f

coal, and again another for their lime when they brought it away from the island. Their little farming could not be made to answer in this way. For some time this seemed to be all, and probably was all, that was comprehended in the movement.

But when risings were taking place elsewhere Chartist agitators went into South Wales, to see whether they could not make comrades of Rebecca and her children. The aspect of the movement presently changed. The police were surrounded and disarmed, and in one case marched to a magistrate's house, and compelled to pull down a wall. Threatening letters were distributed, declaring that Rebecca meant to abolish justice-fees and tithes, and to pull down the workhouses, and to compel a reduction of rents. The alarmed and perplexed magistrates be sought aid from government, and a strong body of troops, and another of police, were sent down. But both troops and police were baffled at every turn. Magistrates' houses were fired into, and Cuormarthen workhouse was half-destroyed precisely according to previous threats. The mob marched into the town, to the number of some thousands, the flaunting Rebecca being conspicuous among them. Among the insignia carried were brooms, wherewith to sweep the foundations of the workhouses and toll-houses. The mob had burst the gates and were gutting the house—the governor clanging the alarm bell—when the soldiers arrived, two of their horses dropping dead from fatigue. Several hundreds of the rioters were captured, and a few slightly wounded. From the time that the Chartist emissaries directed Rebecca's movements nothing went well with her. At the meetings in the hollows of the hills, the Chartist Toryism came out. One speaker denounced the poor law, saying it was the proper fruit of the foolish and mischievous Reform Bill, and here, as everywhere else the Tory Chartists opposed free-trade and announced the ruin of all farmers if the corn laws were repealed. All now went wrong. One night Rebecca's horse was shot, and her gun was wrested out of her hand. She galloped 100 yards, when her horse fell dead, and in the darkness of the night she escaped, but at last two of her 'children' were captured in the act.

assaulting a toll-house. They were young farm-labourers. The gate was on this occasion saved. This was on the 24th of August. On the 6th of September, Rebecca's horse was again shot—after the destruction of the gate—and six of her followers captured, two of whom were severely wounded. Before the month was out, incendiarism began. A band of armed and disguised men went from farm to farm of an active magistrate, and burned his stacks—being lighted across the fields by the fires they had kindled behind them. Another magistrate, coming home at night, found his stacks burning, the wood full of armed men, and the plugs of his fish-ponds drawn, so that no water could be had. Next came murder. There was a time in the movement when Rebecca was genial, with some little mirth in her mood, and much kindness. In the spring, she had let a toll-house stand, because there was a sick child within. Now, in the autumn, she was grown diabolical—so diabolical, that men lost their manhood under the dread of her enmity. An old woman, above seventy, kept a gate which she knew to be doomed. She had been warned to leave it; and at three in the morning, one Sunday, she was awakened by the burning of her thatch. She ran to a cottage near, to ask the stout fellow who lived there to come and put out the fire: 'There was not much,' she said. He dared not put his head out; but asked her in. She ran back to save her furniture. Rebecca's children came up and fired the thatch again. The old creature called out that she knew them; and they shot her dead. What followed made some people talk of leaving the country, and others of the advantage of martial law. The coroner's jury, privately owning themselves afraid to do their duty, returned a verdict: 'That the deceased died from the effusion of blood into the chest, which occasioned suffocation. But from what cause is to this jury unknown.'

This was not to be borne. A royal proclamation called on all men to do their duty. A special commission was sent down to try the prisoners; and, better than either of these, another commission was appointed to inquire into the grievances of the 'malcontents. Both commissions were conducted in the best spirit. The addresses of the

judge, Baron Gurney, are like the admonitory rebukes of a parent to children hard driven into fault, and indeed, there was pity in all minds towards the culprits—the opinion of the other commission already getting known—that poverty and hardship were at the bottom of the Rebecca riots. Three men sentenced to transportation issued a penitent admonitory address to their countrymen, and their relations and intimate friends offered themselves for special constables. The light sentences of imprisonment on others of the rioters, and the discharge without trial of many more, were believed to be owing, not only to many pleading guilty, but to an understanding that the peace was to be kept henceforth.

The commission of inquiry held sittings from place to place, and everywhere the inhabitants showed themselves eager to state their grievances. The conclusions of the commissioners were that the hardships under the existing turnpike system were real and intolerable, and that the outbreak was immediately occasioned by their pressure on the farmers, who were already in difficulties from a succession of bad harvests. From other causes, there was more hardship than usual—the long continued distress having extended its effects into the remotest corners of the principality. In the next session of parliament, a bill, framed on the report of the commissioners, passed both Houses without controversy, the leading principle of which was the consolidation of turnpike trusts in South Wales. The constitution of the new executive board, and the arrangements for clearing off the debts under the old system, were everywhere approved, and Rebecca's insurrection ended in complete success as to its original objects. While all minds were soothed and pleased by the fine temper shown in the trials, all felt that the utmost leniency was absolutely indispensable, while the government commissioners were discovering the grievances of the people to be real and intolerable, and to have been complained of in vain for many years.

Of the excited state of Scotland during this period of
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 triumphing and
 ———— and disaster

spread in England and Wales. He avowed the 'sentiment,' that 'England's adversity is Ireland's opportunity.' Opportunity for what? was the question asked by a multitude; but a larger multitude on Irish ground did not think of asking the question. If the demand of O'Connell and Ireland had been for any definable reform, or measure, or grant, long asked and denied, the declaration might have been excusable, like the action of Rebecca and her children. But it was not so; and a subsequent chapter will show the full iniquity of O'Connell's present proceedings, and of the motto which he caused to be heard in the drawing-rooms at Windsor Castle, and under the thatch of the meanest Irish cabin.

And how was it at Windsor and in London during this dreary and tedious season of adversity? When the distress set in, the queen and her court were engaged in a perpetual round of gaieties. Some newspapers, which had a wide circulation among the working-classes, now began the practice of printing in parallel columns the descriptions of fancy dresses at the queen's balls, and accounts of royal purchases, banquets, and pleasures, on the one hand; and the coroner's inquests on starved persons, reports from the distressed districts, returns of mortality, and the like, on the other. The device wrought powerfully; and some portentous symptoms of a new royal unpopularity appeared. It is believed that Sir R. Peel did the duty of a faithful minister; not rousing or augmenting the fears of the queen, but giving the counsel which the time required. In the midst of magnificent preparations for the christening of the Prince of Wales, it is believed that the minister gave the advice to make haste, and to retrench. The King of Prussia presently arrived; the queen and court appeared in Paisley and other home manufactures; and, as soon as the christening was over, a comparative sobriety settled down over the court, and not even the most querulous had any future cause to blame the amount or the nature of the royal expenditure.

In such times it is—if they last long enough to wear our faith and patience—that we see most curiously revealed the 'fears of the brave and follies of the wise.' Accidents always intervene to aggravate the fear; and the

undue fear perverts the wisdom of the wisest. It was during this season that two of the pistol shots which have been mentioned before were fired at the queen. Both were pranks of ignorant and foolish youths, and appear to have had no immediate connection with the discontents of the time. But they went to enhance the impression of dread—and it was understood that the ladies of the court—and perhaps not only the ladies—were living in a painful state of apprehension of coming evils. While all was gloomiest, in January 1843, an event happened which might almost justify any increase of panic. Sir R. Peel's private secretary Mr. Edward Drummond, was shot in the street, and died of the wound. It was at first supposed that he was mistaken for the premier and in a season such as this which was manifestly unsettling weak wits, it was some time before Sir R. Peel was considered safe. Two policemen in plain clothes followed him in the streets—and the newspapers which were all aware of the fact, considerably forbore—all but one—to notice the fact. Mr. Drummond's murderer, however, was proved a lunatic and lodged for life in an asylum. Yet, there was mischief in the occurrence. Drunken men were heard to threaten the queen and the minister—and infirm brains began to work in that direction, as we see by the police reports of the time.

Something worse than the 'fears of the brave' were 'the follies of the wise.' Grave statesmen, honourable gentlemen, benovolent Christians began to conceive of conduct in their adversaries and to utter imputations which could never have come into their heads at an ordinary time. The Anti Corn Law League had not yet had time to win the respect and command the deference which it was soon to enjoy, but it was known to be organised and led by men of station character and substance—men of enlarged education and of that virtuous and decorous conduct which distinguishes the middle class of England. Yet it was believed—believed by men of education, by men in parliament, by men in attendance on the government—that the Anti Corn Law League sanctioned assassination and did not object to carry its aims by means of it. Thus is perhaps, the strongest manifest state

of the tribulation of the time. In the midst of it, a strange and mournful scene took place in the House of Commons—a scene which would willingly be forgotten, but that the spirit of history must forget nothing which indicates or affects the course of events. Sir R. Peel was ill, harassed with public anxieties, and deeply wounded in his private feelings, by the murder of his secretary, who was also his intimate friend. Mr. Cobden was then little known—at least, by his opponents. He was known as the chief man of the League; and the League was believed to patronise assassination. In the heat of debate, at two hours past midnight of the 17th of February, the premier charged Mr. Cobden with exposing him to fatal consequences, by declaring him ‘personally responsible’ for the misery of the people. Mr. Cobden was so confounded by the outrageous charge, and so borne down by the passionate and insulting clamour of the majority of the House, that he could not do himself justice. Some years afterwards, the two great men came to an understanding, and did themselves and one another justice. But that such an incident could have occurred, shows that it was no time for judging the greatest men too strictly. If it was a time when a gaunt workman might be lightly dealt with for snatching a loaf, and a Welsh peasant for sawing off a gate-post, it was also one which bespoke consideration for perplexed and anxious statesmen.

Such was the period that was setting in—such were the storms that were driving up—when the Peel ministry had to come forward with measures of relief for the finances of the country.

CHAPTER VI

Opening of the Session of 1842—Secession of the Duke of Buckingham—The Queen's Speech—The Corn Question—The Ministerial Scheme—Corn Bill of 1842—Its Reception—Bill becomes Law—Financial Statement—Financial Scheme—Income Tax—New Tariff—Passage of the Bill—Sugar Duties—Domestic View—The Anti Slavery View—Poor-law Renewal Act—Law of Literary Property—Petitions for an Extension of Copyright—Proposed Bills—Copyright Law of 1842—Election Compromises—Mr. Roebuck—Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds—Proceedings in the House—Character of the Session

THE new administration resisted, as we have seen, on taking the recess for the consideration of the financial affairs of the nation, instead of declaring their policy within a month, as the ex-ministers would have tempted them into doing. The present ministers were men of business, disposed and able to make their measures thorough and complete of their kind—fit to be offered to parliament—fit to pass through parliament—fit to work in practice afterwards, and the interval between September and February was short enough for the preparation of such a group of measures as was now to be set up against the debts and distresses of the country. There was much speculation and conjecture as to the purposes of ministers during this interval, but ministers were profoundly secret, and none were further from anticipating what was coming than the heads of the Whig party. At a dinner in London, in November, where all the guests but two were personal friends and adherents of the late ministers, one of the two, who was not a party-man at all was asked what he supposed Peel and Goulburn would do. The reply was 'Why, Peel has told you two things which, put together, show you what he means to do. He says he is not going to repeal the corn laws, and he says he will put an end to our sinking into debt. Therefore, he must be going to lay on an income-tax.' The uproar of ridicule was loud, and the guest was told on all hands that he was talking

nonsense, and that he little knew Peel if he supposed him to have the 'courage' to lay on an income-tax. His answer was: 'You asked my opinion, and you have it. Time will show if I am wrong.' It seems surprising now that so few should have anticipated a positive policy—a set of broad measures, which should be at once remedial and progressive; but too many minds had become weak and superficial about political affairs, under the incapable rule of the Whigs; and those who went into society found little but a vague expectation of some relief from shiftings and changes under the heads of the debt, and some putting on and taking off among the taxes. Meantime, nothing occurred in the way of disclosure till January—a short time before parliament met, when the Duke of Buckingham seceded from the ministry. This was understood as a sign that something was going to be done with the corn-laws that the Duke of Buckingham did not like. The farmers were uneasy. The Whigs were delighted—hoping that there was already a division in the cabinet. The speech was eagerly listened to, at the opening of parliament on the 3rd of February. The numbers who thronged the House of Lords were unusually great, because of the new interest which surrounded the queen after the recent birth of the Prince of Wales, and because the King of Prussia was present, and the ceremony was conducted with unusual splendour; but there was more eagerness still to hear how the appalling distresses of the country would be noticed, and our financial difficulties be met.

In the speech, the recognition of the distress was emphatic; and so was that of 'the exemplary patience and fortitude' of the sufferers. The evil of the annual deficit, now become so familiar, was pointed out as one which must immediately be put an end to; and the tone of decision about this showed that some practical method of recovery was about to be proposed. Parliament was also requested to attend to the laws affecting the importation of corn, and of other articles of foreign production. What 'other' articles? people asked each other, and how many of them? Was there to be an extension of free-trade? Could any considerable sacrifice of import-duties be contemplated at a time when the first consideration

he is actuated by no motives that are not honourable and just, and feeling a deep and intimate conviction that, according to the best conclusion of his imperfect and fallible judgment, that which he intends to propose will be conducive to the welfare, I may say, essential to the prosperity of the country.' So much for his own state of mind. As for that which he confidently anticipated from the nation, his own intimation of what it ought to be, at the conclusion of his speech, was enough to call it into life, if it was not already existing. No History of the Thirty Years' Peace would be complete which did not embody the views of the patriotism of peace, in analogy with that of war, which were this night offered, amidst the deep silence of a listening parliament, by the first minister of the crown.

'I have given you,' said Sir R. Peel, 'a full, an explicit, an unreserved, but, I hope an unexaggerated statement of the financial embarrassments in which we are placed. There are occasions when a minister of the crown may, consistently with honour and with good policy, pause before he presses upon the legislature the adoption of measures which he believes to be abstractedly right. But there are occasions, and this is one of them, upon which a government can make no compromise, there are occasions, and this is one of them, upon which it is the bounden duty of a government to give *that counsel to the legislature* which it believes to be right—to undertake the responsibility of proposing those measures which it believes to be for the public advantage, and to devolve upon the legislature the responsibility of adopting or rejecting those measures. I have performed on the part of her majesty a government, my duty. I have proposed, with the full weight and authority of the government, that which I believe to be conducive to the public welfare. I now devolve upon you the duty, which properly belongs to you, of maturely considering, and finally deciding on, the adoption or rejection of the measures I propose. We live in an important era of human affairs. There may be a natural tendency to overrate the magnitude of the crisis in which we live, or those particular events with which we are ourselves conversant, but I think it is impossible to deny

was thrown out on the 18th by a vote of 285 to 188. The progress of the bill through committee was rapid. After the rejection of a few amendments, little further opposition was made. Eighty clauses were disposed of on the night of the 2nd of May, and on the 30th of May the third reading was carried by a majority of 130, and the bill passed the Commons. In the Lords, there was no debate till the third reading, and what there was, did not prevent the bill from passing the same evening, by a majority of 71.

The speech which appears to have most truly represented the predominant opinion and sentiment in regard to the income tax, was that of Mr. Raikes Currie, a member who had been in parliament since 1837, but had hardly opened his lips till now, when he did it to more purpose than anybody else. He avowed that he came into parliament in the hope of aiding in a large and secure extension and protection of the suffrage, but that that hope had been baulked by Lord John Russell's declaration that he considered the Reform Bill a final measure, and that it was by a determinate purpose that the preponderance of the landed interest in parliament was provided for. Under this preponderance of monopolists all efforts of the Liberal party against monopolies must be hopeless, and especially while, as at present there was no appearance of popular support of the Whigs. When Lord John Russell had 'slammed the door of the constitution in the face of the unrepresented,' he was surely bound to offer no factious opposition to measures in which liberal principles were embodied. The only hope left was in the carrying of liberal measures by those who had power to carry them. He considered himself at full liberty to consider separately, and in entire independence of party, the measures brought forward which contained any popular promise, and he certainly considered the proposal of the income-tax as full of such promise. He was aware of all the evils of that tax—from those on the surface to those in its depths. But he saw the necessity of it, and he saw the necessity of its being carried. He saw the beginning of a new era in the appeal to the moral character of the nation to restore the national resources, and he

proving the measure, he felt himself bound over to candour towards its originator. He saw no use in driving the minister—if that were possible—into the arms of ultra-Protectionists by persecution. He remembered that minister's declaration, that he considered the prosperity of the manufacturing classes of more consequence to the landed interest than any protective laws; and he considered this a sufficient ground for giving him fair-play—even if he had not been now the only hope of popular progress. This statement, remarkable and much remarked on at the time, is even more valuable now. It then served as an exposition of a widely spread view, and as a guide to some who were still perplexed what to think and do; but now its political truth is so verified that the speech reads rather as a commentary on Sir R. Peel's course, and the state of parties during his term of office, than as a piece of reflection at the outset. The operation of the income-tax commenced from the 5th of April 1842.

It has been mentioned that a copy of the proposed tariff had been laid before parliament, and printed off for the benefit of the country. This first copy could not be the working one. As the minister explained, it was necessary, in preparing the measure, to avoid communication with persons actually interested in the supposed protection of particular articles; but it was next necessary to allow such persons time and opportunity to state their views on their own behalf. The changes made in consequence of such representations were not such as to occasion much delay; and by the 5th of May, the amended copy of the proposed tariff was on the table of the House. It may be questioned whether any measure connected with finance, brought forward in parliament at any former time, ever caused such deep and glowing satisfaction throughout the educated classes of this country as this new tariff. When it was considered that the minister's business was—not that of the amateur financier, to make out a perfect scheme—but to propose a reform that would work, it was felt that this was the soundest and most remarkable budget ever brought forward; the soundest in its principle, and the most remarkable in its courage, and comprehensiveness.

—so deeply as the question of pauper relief was affected by the urgent distress of the times. Many members had much to say against the existing law, and new arrangements to propose, and it was absolutely necessary to do something, for the commission had been renewed, by a vote in the preceding session, for one year, and there must be a renewal of the term. With a salary obtained a . . . five years, and a . . . points. A strong

effort was made by Mr. Escott to procure permission for magistrates to administer out-door relief at their discretion, but under no pressure of haste, or alarm at the prevailing distress could the House be so mad as to vote away the essential principle of the great poor law reform, though there seemed at one moment, some fear that it might. Mr. Escott's motion in favour of out-door relief at the discretion of the magistrates was rejected by a majority of 90 to 55, and the commission was renewed for five years under a promise from Sir James Graham that he would introduce a new bill early in the next session, in which some needful reforms should be proposed.

This year, 1842, settled the law of literary property, as it at present stands, and as it will stand for a long time to come. Before the days of Queen Anne it was concluded as a matter of course that any book or other literary production was the property of its author, and the old registers of the Stationers' Company show that some thousands of books even as early as the times of Elizabeth, passed from owner to owner, by descent or sale, like any other property. Acts of parliament, and Star-chamber decrees, also afford evidence that political and legal authorities considered literary works to be the exclusive property of their authors. At no time does any one appear to have doubted the author's exclusive right over his production while it remained in manuscript. The doubt when it arose, related to his ownership when, by act of publication, he had made his ideas general property. The doubt seems to exhibit a mere confusion between the ideas and the vehicle in which they are communicated—between plagiarism and piracy. The people of the United States

appear to be still unable to make the distinction. Because they can derive and reproduce ideas from an English book, they cannot see why they should not lay hands on the work itself, reprint it, pocket the proceeds of the sale without consideration of the author, and as long as our own laws allowed the practice, send their cheap copies to Europe, and sell them under the author's own eye. Yet more: they cannot see why they should not take a work by an English author whose name will secure a sale, cut out some portions of the book, alter the title, make it such as the author would not acknowledge, put his name to it, profit by that name, and send him no share of the proceeds. They cannot see why they should not put the author's name to a work which he has chosen to publish anonymously. Barbarous and base as this ignorance and envidity appear—unable as such agents show themselves to be to conceive of a book as a work of art which must no more be tampered with than a statue or a picture—it but little exceeds our own barbarism on this subject a century and a half ago, or even that which might be found among the unreflecting and unintellectual up to the period of the passage of the Copyright Act of 1842.

If books were, before the eighteenth century, considered as of course the property of their authors, the supposition is now held to have been put an end to by the passage of a law which secured to authors and their heirs the property in their works for a term of years—which was in fact taking the property from them after the expiration of that term of years. The act was passed in 1710; and the term fixed was twenty-one years from the day of publication for works already in print, and fourteen years for all works to be henceforward published; the latter term being once renewable, if the author should be still living at the end of the first fourteen years. More than half a century afterwards, however, Lord Mansfield and other authorities settled, as they thought, that the perpetual right of the author over his work was not put an end to by the statute of 1710; but again, five years afterwards, Lord Mansfield and those who agreed with him—the judges being in fact equally divided—were overruled; and it was decided, from 1774 onwards, that perpetual copyright was put an end to

endeavoured to break in and call the attention of the House to a discussion on the income-tax, but the inclination of the House was to see this business to an end, and it did so. After all the impugned members had answered or declined to answer, the discussion was adjourned to the next Monday. It then appeared how awakening was the impression made on the House and how useless were all attempts to stifle Mr Roebuck's inquiry. A committee of investigation was appointed, and it was clear that though the work of that committee might be impeded and the express aims of its author thwarted by technical devices, the honour of the House was really appealed to and some check was put upon corruption. One striking incident was the refusal

of the Hundred

was once upon

ness of the steward being to watch over the safety of that district of Buckinghamshire called the Chiltern Hundreds, when its woods were infested with banditti, who were a perpetual trouble to the rural inhabitants. The office had long been merely nominal. But it served under the description of 'a place of honour and profit under the crown' as a means of vacating a seat in parliament, which cannot be resigned under any other plea than having accepted such an office. The office is resigned as soon as the parliamentary seat is vacated that it may be ready for the next applicant. On the present occasion the application of one of the members for Reading was met by the following reply from the chancellor of the exchequer: 'Under ordinary circumstances I should not feel justified in availing myself of the discretion vested in me in order to refuse or delay the appointment for which you have applied when sought for with a view to the resignation of a seat in parliament. But after the disclosures which have taken place with respect to certain boroughs of which

the facts by the

ing my assistance

may have been

entered into as arising out of any such compromise. I should, in some sort, make myself a party to transactions which I do not approve, and of which the House of C —

mons has implied its condemnation. I feel, moreover, that by a refusal on my part of the means by which alone such engagements can be fulfilled, I afford the most effectual discouragement to the entering into similar compromises in future, and thus promote, so far as is in my power, the intentions of the House of Commons.'

Mr. Roebuck moved for and obtained a committee of investigation into the cases before the House. He moved for and obtained a bill of indemnity to witnesses; and the inquiry was conducted with closed doors. The committee reported, towards the end of July; and it was this report which decided Mr. Goulburn to refuse the Chiltern Hundreds to Lord Chelsea. On the refusal being canvassed in the House, the premier avowed that Mr. Goulburn had acted with the concurrence of the whole cabinet. Mr. Roebuck's resolutions, founded on the report of the committee, against issuing writs for the compromised boroughs till parliament had provided some security against election bribery, were negatived; but every one felt that the report, with its disclosures and dispassionate comments, could not be inoperative. Lord John Russell introduced a bill, whose chief objects were to facilitate the disclosure of bribery committed, rather than to visit it with new penalties; and to prevent such compromises as had lately disgraced the House. The bill passed both Houses before the conclusion of the session, and became law on the 10th of August.

There was something really refreshing to the country, in the midst of its distresses, in the character and action of this session of parliament. At the beginning, the opposition was hostile, saucy, active, and united; and it was curious to see how it changed under the eye of a minister who could frame measures first, and then carry them. Some of his measures were as unacceptable to classes and parties as any that had been brought forward for some years; yet their progress, from their first conception to their becoming the law of the land, was never delayed. The nation saw and felt that its business was understood and accomplished, and the House of Commons was no longer like a sleeper under nightmare. The long session was a busy one. The queen wore a cheerful air when she

known that a strong opposition would be raised if the thing were not done at once. It was certain that a multitude of women and children would be thrown out of employment after the passage of the bill; and not a few persons declared the commissioners' report to be full of exaggeration; and the great permanent objection remained, of the disastrous consequences of interfering with the labour-market. The great majority of the nation, however, felt that it was better to have a large burden thrown on the parishes for a time than to let such abuses continue; that, making every allowance for exaggeration, the facts were horrible; and that, the labour-market being already interfered with by Factory Bills, this was not the point to stop at. So the bill passed, with some amendments which Lord Ashley submitted to, rather than wait. By this bill, women were excluded from mining and colliery labour altogether. Boys were not to be employed under the age of ten years; and the term of apprenticeship was limited. The secretary of state was empowered to appoint inspectors of mines and collieries, to see that the provisions of the bill were carried out. The new law took effect after nine months from its date. The operation has, from time to time, been reported as beneficial; and, though it has been found difficult to prevent women from getting down to work in the pits after the habits of a life had made other employment unsuitable or impossible to them, the pressure upon parish or other charity funds turned out to be less than had been anticipated. It was a great thing to have put a stop to the employment of women in toil wholly unsuited to their frame and their natural duties; and to have broken in upon a system of child-slavery which could never have existed so long in our country, if it had not been hidden in the chambers of the earth.

It was between the passage of this act and its coming into operation that Lord Ashley moved to address the queen on the subject of a religious education for the working-classes; and this brought out from Sir James Graham a statement of a government scheme of education, which was to be engrafted upon a Factory Bill of Lord Ashley's order of legislation—a law which should control the des-

ing a solemn promise to the people, and teaching them to despise the law and distrust the law-makers. The debate ended in a majority of 138 against the ten-hour limitation; and the bill was passed by the Commons with only seven dissentient voices. It was not much discussed in the Lords; and it presently became law.

In the next session, 1845, Lord Ashley introduced two bills, which were taken up and carried by the government; one bringing young people employed in print-works under the protection of the factory measure, and the other providing for the better care of lunatics. This last was a good step taken in an unquestionable cause. As for the factory legislation, it is almost as melancholy to witness the efforts made to cure the evils of our over-wrought competitive system as to contemplate the evils themselves. First, we have allowed our operative population to grow up, in less ignorance than some other classes, it is true, but with a wholly insufficient knowledge of their own condition and liabilities. They have overcrowded the labour-market, so as to be compelled to work harder, not than other classes of labourers who earn smaller wages, but than is good for anybody to labour; and then we try to mend the matter by forbidding them to sell more than a given amount of their labour. It is not thus that the excessive competition which is the cause of the mischief can be reduced; and the true friends of the working freeman felt that he lost nothing, while he retained his liberty, by the failure of Lord Ashley's ten-hour measures of 1844.

Lord Ashley wrought in a better direction when he heartily seconded Mr. Charles Buller's motion, in the session of 1843, in favour of extensive and systematic colonisation, as a means of lessening the excessive competition in the labour-market at home, and of opening new

the discussion did not in result, it was eminently useful in directing attention to the true principles of relief, and affording large information as to our colonising prospects. We shall hereafter see what was doing in this field.

While parliament was thus almost exclusively occupied

with beneficent legislation, and what was intended as such—thus indicating the peculiar pressure of the time—society out of doors was following in the same track. We see, with great satisfaction, about this time, a rising movement in favour of shortening the hours of trading in shops. Here, where exchange and not production is concerned, there can be no reasonable objection to bringing the exhausting labour of shop attendance within endurable limits. As long as the fair convenience of purchasers is considered, and the shops are kept open for the length of an average working-day, a timely closing of the shops is a benefit to the tradesman and his assistants in every way. The one thing to be done was to induce the tradesmen in the same line to agree to close their shops at the same hour; and this has been found not difficult on the whole. The early-closing movement began to be talked about at this time; and a prospect was opening to the shopman and shopwoman of evening reading, or social converse, or rest, or, if their fatigue permitted it, a breath of fresh air at other times than on Sundays. And we note also the commencement of the movement on behalf of one of the most suffering classes of society—the governesses. The position of this unfortunate class is so anomalous, so unnatural, and, at our own particular period, so depressed, that the efforts of all the benevolent among us could do but little for relief. But, from this time, it was at least certain that the neglect of society was at an end; and this was the clear beginning of the end which must one day arrive. From this time, some few of the suffering multitude of female educators would be sheltered in their latter years, and tended in sickness, and aided to provide resources against a season of age and sickness. We were to have among us asylums for aged governesses, and homes for such as were unemployed; and methods of insurance or deposit for annuities for such as were earning salaries; and, better than all these, an awakening of society to the inquiry why this class is one which suffers so bitterly, and whether it can be justifiable to have among us a class so indispensable, and yet so unhappy. It may be hoped that there were employers of governesses who
to consider whether they could not

In 1842, however, there was something like a suspension of the repeal agitation. The harvest having been bad,

Ennis; and a special commission sent down to scenes of disturbance. The next year was that in which the repeal agitation reached its height.

It is at this time that we begin to see mention of 'monster meetings.' Early in January, Mr. O'Connell announced the repeal of the union to be 'all but immediate,' if the clergy and laity would unite in their overwhelming majority; and he added: '1843 is and shall be the repeal year.' A remarkable step, and one which

March; and presently occurred the monster meeting at Trim, where 30,000 people were present. At the dinner which succeeded the meeting, the agitator ventured upon his boldest language; talked of the scaffold, victory or the grave, and dared the young men to say whether they would be slaves, or shed their blood in the field. At the Mullingar meeting, on the 14th of May, it appeared that every Catholic bishop in Ireland was a repealer. To this meeting the peasantry thronged, even from a distance of forty miles; and the numbers were somewhere between 100,000 and 130,000. By this time, all pretence of assembling to petition parliament was laid aside; and parliament was spoken of with mere contempt. As the government did not interfere, the agitator grew bolder and more threatening in his language, and more plainly invited his followers to wrest repeal from the hand of imperial tyranny. The government still professed its intention of relying on the ordinary powers of the law, except with regard to the holding of arms, about which a keenly contested bill passed through parliament during the summer. The chancellor of Ireland, Sir Edward Sugden, removed from the commission of the peace Lord

French and several other magistrates who had taken part in repeal demonstrations; but this act, however much questioned in the House of Commons, was one which lay within the ordinary powers of the law.

It appears as if the first serious fears of the government were excited by the monster meeting at Tara, on the 15th of August, where O'Connell, who provoked the old association of ideas about the bully and the coward, bragged more grandly than ever, because it seemed that the government would give him nothing to fear. He declared that he had been laughed at for saying in January that this was the repeal year; but it was his turn to laugh now; for it was certain that before twelve months more, the parliament would be in College Green, Dublin. He believed he was 'able to announce' to his hearers that not twelve months could possibly elapse, without hurrahs for the Irish parliament in College Green being heard over the land. He opened glimpses of his plan for extorting permission from the queen for Ireland to govern herself; and these words were addressed to an assemblage estimated by various reporters at from 500,000 to 2,000,000 of persons. The hill of Tara was like a huge encampment. Some persons arrived overnight; others flocked in from the break of day; and after ten o'clock, imposing processions, with music and banners, converged from various points. The spot was chosen for its revolutionary associations—the old kings of Ireland having been elected on the hill; and the rebels of 1798 having there sustained a defeat. A head-ornament, half cap, half crown, was prepared, wherewith to crown the liberator; and there can be no doubt that the peasant-multitude believed the day to be come when they were to be freed from a foreign domination, and restored to national grandeur, and universal comfort and wellbeing. This appears to have been the occasion—at the dinner after the meeting—when the scheme of establishing arbitration courts was first recommended. The people were advised to desert and ignore the courts of law; and the magistrates who were dismissed from the commission of the peace on account of their repeal opinions, were to serve as O'Connell's justices, and decide on all disputes brought before them. These

the most imploring and incessant entreaties to the people to keep perfectly quiet, and declared that he would never again use the term 'Saxon,' as he found that it gave offence. He caught at an offer from Mr Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, to aid the repeal cause if he would confine his demand to a local legislature for merely local purposes, and would unite the British demand for universal suffrage with his own objects.

The proceedings began on the 2nd of November, in the Court of Queen's Bench in Dublin. From the first hour, it was evident that obstruction and delay were the policy of the accused. It was not till the 8th that the jury found the indictment 'a true bill,' and the trial was by various devices put off till the 15th of January. An unfortunate and disgraceful error occurred in the preparation of the jury lists—two slips of the lists having been lost, and sixty three names thus dropped by the way. There was much controversy as to whether this accident would prove fatal to the prosecutions and there were disputes and delays about the exclusion of certain Catholics from the jury, and about every point that could be raised. If it was difficult to conduct jury trial in Ireland in all party cases it might be anticipated that it would be almost impossible in this critical instance, where it was difficult in the extreme to secure a fair jury. The practice of smuggling a jury on the one hand, and packing it on the other, was familiar to every man's expectation, and few or none believed it possible to find, in all Dublin, twelve dispassionate and impartial men on a question in which repeal was concerned. The community was sharply divided between those who adored, and those who hated, O Connell. On the important 15th of January, when O Connell and his son arrived at the Four Courts, conducted by the lord mayor in his state-carriage, and escorted by twenty-three other carriages, the jurors drew back on various pleas—all health, mistakes in the setting down of their Christian names, and other excuses. All but one paid the fine of £50, and he was excused on presenting an affidavit of ill health. One rheumatic old gentleman of seventy two was compelled to serve, and it was noticed that great efforts were made by the lawyers of

the accused to keep on as many invalids as possible, evidently in the hope that some attack of illness might frustrate the trial. Then, two of the accused were absent; and the excuse presented for one of them was, that he lived four miles from town. When the court had waited long enough, and was about to forfeit his recognisances, he appeared, and everybody laughed.

There were few to laugh, however, when the Irish attorney-general made his statement. Though everybody had read about the repeal movement in the newspapers, for months past, everybody seemed now struck by the story as if it was new. It was a fearful story; and it left the impression on all minds that a rebellion like that of 1798 was impending. Those who did laugh as the trial proceeded were moved to it by the extraordinary character of the scene—the impudence, the recklessness, the buffoonery, which can hardly be conceived of by those who are accustomed to the gravity of an English court of justice. The case for the prosecution occupied eleven days; and after that, the aim of the accused, to wear out the jury, became even more evident than before. At length, on the twenty-fourth day, which was Saturday, February 10, there was every expectation that the verdict of the jury would be delivered before night. At seven o'clock, the chief-justice closed his charge, which produced a startling effect in court, from the grouping together of O'Connell's speeches of incitement, and of the threatenings of the repeal newspapers. The jury inquired whether it was necessary for them to proceed that night; they were extremely fatigued. They were not let off; and at half-past seven they retired. A little before eleven, they returned a verdict imperfect in form, and were sent back. At a quarter past twelve, they were called in, and informed that they must be locked up till Monday.

When the imperfect verdict was proffered, a vast crowd was assembled outside the Courts; and the news that the accused were all found more or less guilty was received with a terrific yell, which must have told on the nerves of some of the worn-out jurymen. A woman had that day entered the shop of one of them, and offered to sell his wife a widow's cap, saying that it would be needed, if the verdict

and bearing of whatever would disturb him, and if the later portraits of him are to be trusted, this was highly necessary. It is affecting to look on the heavy eye, and the mournful and wistful expression of countenance. He went to *Hastings*, and he did not mend though the newspapers had paragraphs about his improving health, or health which needed no improvement. He desired that the newspapers might be kept from him, and all tidings of Ireland. No one was to be admitted who would speak of Ireland. He so watched the countenance of his physician when looking at his tongue, and was so alarmed by any gravity of countenance at the moment, that his physician had to remember to look cheerful and pleased. Next, he went abroad hoping to reach Rome and die under the blessing of the pope. But he sank too rapidly for this. He was carried to Paris, *Marseille*, *Genoa*, and then he could go no further. The final symptoms consequent on a long decay of the digestive functions came on in May 1847, and on the 15th of that month, he died, his latest anxieties being lest he should be buried alive. He gave repeated warnings to his physicians and servant against this danger. His melancholy deepened to the last, and his only interest seemed to be in dependence on his confessor, and in repeating the prayers enjoined. On examination, the state of the brain explained his later moods. It was extensively diseased, and the disease, both there and else where, must have been of long standing. This was a natural close of the life he had led—a life of strong passions, and intense and unremitted excitement, without the repose of a simple integrity, but it is not the less profoundly melancholy. Those who could least pretend to lament his disappearance from his mischievous position in Ireland, could not see without emotion the progress of the old triumphal-car through the streets of Dublin bearing the silent remains of him whom multitudes still called by the name of liberator. The name has died already, and will be henceforth met with only in the chronicles of a past time. It is difficult now to find an educated Irish man who speaks of O'Connell with respect, or who dares that he set back Ireland half a century by his political action after 1829. But his name was a spell upon the

Catholic peasantry; and when the charm was dissolved, and the idol broken, there was no heart that was not aware of the melancholy which always attends the breaking of idols.

During the years when the repeal agitation was strongest, there were things doing in and for Ireland which afforded some hope on her behalf, even to those who saw most clearly the mischiefs of O'Connell's course, and were most indignant at them. The most essential good that could be rendered to Ireland—that which at least must precede every other—was an exposure of the fact that her miseries proceeded from moral and social, and not political causes. The famine was coming which was to do this good work in a harsh manner. While the famine was not foreseen, there was something extremely disheartening in O'Connell's pernicious mode of action, and in the rise of Young Ireland, with its political ignorance, its slaughter-house talk, and its bullying boasts—all so vulgar in the presence of the mournful greatness of the cause it professed to monopolise. But violence and ignorance and folly are, in their own nature, short-lived; and there was a lasting life in some institutions and methods and proposals on behalf of Ireland which were not extinguished by the repeal agitation.

The county of Derry was showing, according to its wont, what could be done by the application of industry and capital, among a mixed population of Catholics and Protestants, and under the much-abused union. On the estates of the London companies were seen 'good farm-houses, large squared fields, good fences, and abundant crops,' at the same date when, under an invited visitation an inquirer was compelled to report: 'In no part of the United Kingdom is such neglected wretchedness—filth, such squalor, such misery of every kind—to be seen as I saw that day on Mr. O'Connell's estate, in the presence of Mr. Maurice O'Connell.' At the same date, Dr. O'Connell was asking whence such contrasts arise, and avowing that fault is not in the country, but in ourselves; and saying, 'We do not want activity; we are not deficient in power, but we want special industrial knowledge.' The want was considered and met in the introduction of technical schools, whose benefits would be great.

best consideration of parliament 'the policy of improving and extending the opportunities for academical education in Ireland' The ministers were prepared with their plan which was brought forward by Sir James Graham, on the 9th of May. The national education system in Ireland was working well, but its host of 400 000 pupils included only children and, as yet, children of the poorer classes though it was extending upwards. It was desirable to enable those who had sat side by side on the school benches as yet untouched by the religious bigotry which was the curse of the country, to continue the education which had begun so favourably and also to provide for the same harmony being extended to all classes of society. The government therefore proposed the establishment of three colleges in the north west and south of Ireland in which a liberal and comprehensive academical education should be opened to young men of every religious denomination without distinction. There could of course be no theological professorships founded by the government but every facility was afforded for the voluntary establishment of such in connection with the colleges. As for the question whether these new colleges should be incorporated into a new university or whether Trinity College Dublin should without invasion of her present Protestant rights be enabled to admit the new colleges into incorporation with her as a university—this was for parliament to decide upon. After much debate earnest but less violent than that on the Mayoath question the measure was carried by a vote of 177 to 26 in the Commons, and without a division in the Lords—the question of the university arrangements being left over till the views of the governing powers of all the colleges could be obtained. The Ligotism among the Catholic clergy were the foes in this case. The cry about 'godless' education was loud and has been long.

The new institutions have ever since gone by the name of the 'godless' colleges among the fanatics of the Romish faith and some few of the Protestant Church and by much painstaking and prodigious misrepresentation the less enlightened of the Catholic priesthood at length obtained from the conscientious but weak pope, Pius IX., a

rescript against these colleges, as places of education of the Catholic youth of Ireland. The measure was, and is, however, all-important as throwing the *onus* of religious exclusiveness on the Catholic portion of society in Ireland; and as a distinct pledge that the imperial government was at last exercising an impartial sway over its subjects of differing faith. The sum proposed for the erection of the three colleges was £100,000; for their maintenance—that is, the salaries of officers, and the prizes for the encouragement of learning—£18,000 per annum. In each college there was to be a principal, with a salary of £1000; and ten or twelve professors, with salaries of £300 a year. Residences were not provided; but the principal of each college would live within the walls; and the modes of residence of the students were to be under safe regulation, under the act. The power of appointment and removal of the professors was to rest with the crown, as was obviously fitting in a case which involved party-feelings to so great an extent. The preparations for these new institutions were immediately begun. It must be left for time to show how they work.

In February of this year, a report was presented by the commissioners of inquiry, sent out in 1843, to investigate the law and practice in respect to the occupation of land in Ireland. Much expectation was excited by the appointment of the Devon commission—as it was called, from the Earl of Devon being at the head of it—and the expectation was kept up by the eagerness of multitudes of persons connected with the proprietorship and occupation of land in Ireland, to give evidence before the commission. They came in crowds to tell what they knew, and thought, and felt; and it was hoped that now, at last, light would be obtained as to what was to be hoped and feared, and what could be done. The information obtained was extensive and valuable; and large practical use might soon have been made of it, in the form of proposed legislation, but that the famine was approaching, which put aside all considerations but how to prevent the whole rural population from dying of hunger. Though the time has not arrived for making use of the disclosures of this report, and though much of it may be actually superseded by the

question The seven members of the presbytery determined for themselves to obey the civil power, and they admitted Edwards to trials They were brought to the bar of the General Assembly, where Dr Chalmers moved for their deposition from the holy ministry Dr Cook the leader of the State party in the Church—'the Moderates' as they were called—moved that the seven ministers at the bar should be dismissed and confirmed in their present rank in the Church Dr Chalmers obtained a majority of 97 in an assembly of 347 and the Strathbogie ministers were sentenced to deposition Their parishes were declared vacant and Mr Edwards was to be deprived of his licence as a minister of the Church

The seven deposed ministers appealed to parliament, and their case was brought forward by Lord Aberdeen on the 15th of June 1841 Lord Melbourne let every body see that he did not understand the matter he had promised, certainly, to maintain the law and he had no doubt the lord advocate would see that it was done, these were very difficult questions, but the Church entirely and the Church of Scotland Haddington rebuked

premier declaring that it was owing to the policy of the government—its carelessness or hesitation—that the divisions in the Scotch Church had become what they were The concluding statement of the premier was that the government really meant to execute the law, and that the best way of doing that was to leave the law to execute itself For want of a few words of earnest declaration of the intentions of government, however the impression was very general that the ministry were somewhat daunted by the imposing attitude of the ecclesiastical chiefs in Scotland and disposed to leave the affair as much as possible to be managed in the Scotch courts

The deposed ministers obtained an interdict forbidding all preachers of the Kirk from entering their pulpits The Assembly forthwith deputed one of their chief members to go and preach there and encourage various ministers to officiate in those parishes regularly and perseveringly, thus compelling their licentiates to break the

civil law, because their predecessors had broken their ecclesiastical law. Penalties hung over the heads of the preaching substitutes; and penalties had been imposed on those whom they superseded. This state of things could not last or be endured. The number of public meetings which took place all over Scotland, and the vehemence of the speakers on both sides, began to be a significant warning to parliament, that talking and laughing, and even wrangling, were no longer serious enough for the occasion. In truth, the reader of the newspapers of that time feels little inclination to smile, even in the midst of the extreme wonder which he feels at the point which party-spirit can reach. The evidences of wrath and hatred are too strong, and the mutual imputations too shocking, to leave room for any amusement. To an impartial reader it appears that there never was a case in which men might more reasonably hold opposite opinions. The case was one of difficult decision to the wisest; for the perplexity lay deep in an abyss of compromise, and by no means within the grasp of passion and partisanship. The language used in regard to the Church leaders on the one hand, and Mr. Edwards and the seven Strathbogie ministers on the other, was, however, as violent as can ever have been used about monsters of vice. Such language led, as was natural, to violence of another kind. The pious attendants at church on critical occasions, and at public meetings, pelted one another with snow and with stones; and here and there, there was fighting enough to call for the interference of the police. The gravest thinkers, and men of the highest conscientiousness, saw more clearly, from month to month, that there was no alternative for the Church party but to withdraw from their connection with the State. The choice lay merely between this and the surrender of the spiritual powers of the Church. They had staked everything on their position, that the providing ministers for the people was a spiritual concern, though the disposal of the emoluments was a secular one. The State would not recede from its legal function of supporting patronage; and the ecclesiastical party must therefore separate its function from its partnership with the civil law.

When this result was evidently becoming necessary, Lord

and women who were ready to spend and be spent in the cause. While the difficulties remained which were occasioned by the refusal of landowners to grant sites for churches aged men and tender women attended worship like the old Covenanters in frost and rain—under the tempests and heats of summer, and the blasts and snows of winter on the sea shore in the wild ravine and on the exposed hillside. Several of the large proprietors held out for a long time naturally doubting whether they ought to grant aid of any kind to parties who had as they supposed set up against the government and the law courts. But these not only became better aware of what is due to religious liberty but took warning from the frequent rising up of the question what right any man could have to hold land so as to keep back God's earth to the last corner from worshippers who wanted merely space to kneel on. When it was seen that this High Church movement might generate an agrarian agitation the seceders were indulged with a choice of sites for their churches.

Thus did Scotland lead the way in proving the principle of Church Establishments in alliance with the state. There is a general feeling that the affair is not over—that the Establishment in Scotland now remains a mere temporary arrangement and that the Establishment in England and Ireland must sooner or later come into question in somewhat a similar way.

In the English Establishment the disturbances whose first outbreak has been described became more threatening and more painful from year to year. It could not be otherwise for the differences between the three parties in the Church were fundamental and their controversies must be brought to an issue before unity and tranquillity could be restored. One of the most significant circumstances in connection with this state of the question is that dissent appears to be increasing in the divisions in the Establishment.

Men were mourning over the certain destruction of the Church from the interference of the government with it, and while the Low Church party were denouncing the influence of the world and struggling to revive religion

by building churches—as if the spirit could be created by forms, instead of forms being the manifestation of the spirit; and while Dr. Arnold was writing: ‘I groan over the divisions of the Church I begin now to think that things must be worse before they are better, and that nothing but some great pressure from without will make Christians cast away their idols of sectarianism—the worst and most mischievous by which Christ’s Church has ever been plagued;’ while such were the lamentations of Churchmen of every order, we find the Dissenters stating, with solemn grief, in their annual reports, that their numbers and their zeal were fearfully declining. At the Wesleyan Conference in 1845, the decrease of members was declared to exceed 5000. The New Connection of Wesleyans announced a decrease also, and directed an inquiry into the causes, and ‘a prayerful consideration’ of them. ‘The event,’ they declared, ‘ought to be regarded as a source of deep abasement and sorrow before God.’ In the same year, the committee of the Baptist Union announced that the condition of their churches was, where not stationary, retrograde. Of their 507 churches, 142 had ‘suffered a clear diminution’—‘a fact which is fitted,’ they say, ‘to give rise to serious and salutary reflection.’ At the meeting of the Congregational on, the denomination was announced to be ‘diminishing rather than increasing.’ The same appears to have been true about some of the smaller sects. The Quakers, for some time before this, been generally relaxing their practical obligation to wear the dress, and use the peculiar speech, of their sect. Their leaders mourned the necessity, but declared that the preservation of these observances was now found to cost more than they were worth. Discontent and resentment had become common among the young who found ‘their cross’ too hard to bear; and they would break bounds, and desert their fathers, if this much indulgence were not granted them. So, in this time it must become more and more uncommon to see young faces under the neat drab bonnet and the broad brim, and it seemed probable that in two or three more generations the Quaker garb would be seen only in old persons. The Catholics alone appear to have been decidedly

Church that he could be in cordial communion, and, owing to the independence of his views, and the peremptory manner in which he issued them, he was feared and disliked by many of his own Church party, as strongly as he was honoured and adored by others. It is on other grounds than his relation to the Church that his posthumous reputation rests. He was the most earnest public man of his time—of a time when earnestness was supremely needed and was sadly deficient. He presented the spectacle of a man of not only blameless, but exalted and holy life, who lived wholly and solely for what seemed to him truth and good. It was and is felt to be a pity that his views of truth and good were impaired by narrowness of view and of experience, and by a want of knowledge of men and affairs, so that his earnestness led him to devise and judge and insist on matters, and for persons and classes, which he did not understand—as when he would have made a declaration of Christian belief an indispensable requisite to the full enjoyment of political and social rights, a method which would have acted as a premium on hypocrisy, and have done violence to some of the best consciences in the community but such defects did not neutralise the value of his earnestness and transparent sincerity, conspicuous as they were in the midst of the indifference or the formalism and insincerity of the time. And he communicated this earnestness and sincerity to a large number of those who are becoming the men of a later time. As an educator, he put his heart into his work, and laboured there as elsewhere, for truth and good. The views which he considered invaluable may not be in every case held by those whom he trained to hold ideas on conviction only, points which he insisted on as indispensable may appear otherwise to his pupils in their maturity, but they owe to him the power and the conscience to think for themselves, and the earnest habit of mind which makes their conviction a part of their life. By this exalted view and method as an educator, Dr Arnold did more for education than even by his express and unintermitting assertion of the importance of the function—powerful as his testimony was. At the head of Rugby School, he had large opportunities both for testimony and action, and what he

did will never be forgotten. His life was a public blessing while it lasted; and it has become more so since his death; for his virtues and his toils are not now, as when he lived, obscured by the local and temporary strifes which always prevent men from doing justice to each other, and vitiate the noblest perspective of character, rendering prominent what need be scarcely seen, and hiding the grandest features behind mere magnified accidents. The horror with which he and the Tractarian leaders spoke of each other is forgotten now. Those leaders have found their Church; and he is seen to have been the man required in his place by the moral wants of the age—as conspicuously a public benefactor as worthy of the love and reverence which waited upon his private life. He died in 1842, the day before the completion of his forty-seventh year.

In the midst of the government action for bringing the Church and the people together, another clergyman died, whose view of Church matters was more secular than any held by the ecclesiastical reformers of the time. It seems strange that Sydney Smith should ever have been in the Church; and it is far from strange that earnest ecclesiastics should have been scandalised at his method of treatment of some matters which were to them as solemn and serious as the Gospel. He was, in truth, a moralist and not a religious guide; and he could as little conceive of a spiritual call to the clerical office as his enemies could give him credit for earnestness about the matters which appeared to him most serious. In his letters about the ecclesiastical commission, he speaks throughout of the ‘prizes’ in the Church as the inducement to men to go into it, and he never appears to conceive of any higher impulsion; but perhaps few of the most spiritual and devoted ministers of the Church have so fervently, constantly, and powerfully advocated the interests of duty, and shown the beauty of the things that are honest, pure, lovely, and of good report. It does not follow that because he was the greatest wit of his time, and of strong social inclinations, he was spoiled. He could admonish and satirise the great, as well as the lowly; and his sympathies were always on the side of the suffering and oppressed. His advocacy was always on behalf of the liberal and progressive side

him have some from among the members of the Established Church. Would they do so? The meeting answered in the negative, and when the vicar read over a list of names, those of the Chartists were carried with acclamation and their election was received with a good grace. It must have been a singular scene.

During this period occasion arose for testing the principles of the administration in regard to religious liberty—an occasion which involved a question of great nicety, and therefore a test of unusual decisiveness. The excitement throughout the kingdom was very strong, and indeed the controversy about Dissenters' endowments was the prominent one, in connection with parliament, of 1844. It was scarcely possible that the ministers could have foreseen how their proposition would become the basis of a religious movement, but when it did, and when the movement assumed all the violence which belongs to religious movements in critical times, they held their ground calmly and firmly, as protectors of justice showing throughout a sensibility to religious liberty which won for them such esteem from the enlightened portion of the people as abundantly compensated for the loss of support from the bigoted and the half informed who made up the opposition. It was in fact, a case in which there could not be two opinions among honest men fully informed of the facts. But a multitude of honest zealots were not fully informed of the facts, and they carried on a most formidable resistance under a wrong impression. The story was this:

In the reign of Charles II., a certain Lady Hewley left certain manors ~~to the use of the most 'godly~~ preachers of Christ's holy ~~of course,~~ no idea that a ~~but sort of~~ 'preachers' her bequest was intended to benefit. They must be Dissenters, for the clergy of the Romish and English Churches were never called 'preachers' in her time, and she was well known to be herself a Dissenter, and devoted to Dissenting interests. Unitarians were not heard of in her day, and, if heard of, they would have been called, by Lady Hewley among other Trinitarians blasphemers, or anything rather than 'godly preachers of

Christ's holy gospel.' But the religious body to which Lady Hewley belonged was that which has since become, by gradual change, the Unitarian body of the present day. Naturally and necessarily, they have baptised their infants and buried their dead in the chapels endowed by Lady Hewley's fund; and that fund naturally and inevitably contributed to the support of the young ministers who went forth from the congregations worshipping in those chapels. Of late years, however, Dissenters sprung from a sect to which Lady Hewley did not belong, but who conceived themselves to hold the opinions professed by her when she made her will, thought that their ministers and congregations ought to be the recipients of her bequest, and that the Unitarians had forfeited their right to hold it when they relinquished the doctrine which she considered that of 'Christ's holy gospel.' A report of the Charity Commissioners sanctioned the inquiry; and a bill was filed in Chancery to dispossess the Unitarians. The judges of the court decided against the Unitarians, who appealed to the Lords. The Lords required the opinion of the twelve judges. With the exception of one of their number, Maule, the judges were unanimous in their opinion—delivered in June 1842—that the Unitarians were excluded from the bequest, and that the property ought to belong to the Trinitarian Protestant Dissenters. The Lords, of course, affirmed the judgment of the Court of Chancery. After a litigation of fourteen years, this decision was pronounced in August 1842. After all, it settled nothing but the exclusion of the Unitarians, and left the property unappropriated.

The difficulties of this case were produced by lapse of time and consequent changes of opinion, and not by fault on any hand; but they were difficulties of so serious a kind that the government saw the necessity of preventing their perpetual recurrence by an act which should forbid the unsettlement of ancient property, and disorganising quarrels about such property, on every material change of opinion in religious sects. It was a bad thing that an interest in property should be directly implicated with particular opinions. It was a bad thing that any sect should be under temptation to covet the pr

free trade principles. Amidst these contradictions, the colonial secretary's bill passed the stage of debate in the Lords by a majority of 32 in a House of 82, and became law without delay.

By this time, there were large numbers of persons in a state of hope or fear from the conviction that the existing government 'had never attempted to conceal,' as Lord Stanhope said, 'their advance towards the full adoption of free trade principles.' Throughout the country, the preparations for the crisis were proceeding. Every parliamentary seat that became vacant was contested by the corn law repealers, and every word that fell from ministers and their adherents in either House was watched and pondered. This state of expectation gave an interest to the corn law debates which would otherwise have been utterly wearisome, from the lack of novelty, and the pre-

In March, Mr Ward

tee to inquire whether

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they were, and in May, Mr Villiers brought forward his annual motion for a committee of the whole House, to

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new and untried, the Whig leaders and their adherents desired a fixed duty, and the Protectionists were awake and active in opposition to the motion—yet the majority by which it was rejected was much less than in the preceding year, the numbers being in 1842, 393 to 90, and now, 381 to 125. In 1844, the majority on the same occasion again sank to 204, and the Protectionists began to calculate how long their corn law could be preserved if their majority continued to sink at the rate of 50 in a year. The ministers, this time as before, said that their new scale was not yet proved a failure, and that, till it was, they would countenance no change. Sir R Peel said that as he had before declared, so he would declare still, that the government had not contemplated, and did not now contemplate, any change in that corn law which was settled two years since; but now, as before, he guarded himself against being understood to mean that he would at all times, and under

all circumstances, resist change ; because that was a thing which no man ought to say on any matter of the kind. Lord J. Russell declined voting, on the ground that he was equally unwilling to have things go on as they were, and to throw open the trade in corn. Adhering to his own proposal of a fixed duty of 8s., he would not vote for any alternative. He was deserted now, however, by Lord Howick, who avowed himself an advocate of immediate repeal, as compromise was no longer possible. He saw that industry was inadequately rewarded ; that both wages and profits were low ; and that these results were mainly owing to restrictions on the importation of food. This was a remarkable fact ; and there were other remarkable facts connected with this debate ; but none of them, separately or collectively, were so notable as the line of defence taken by the Protectionists. Their speeches were almost wholly occupied by complaints or denunciations of the Anti-Corn-Law League.

The change within three years was indeed great. On the 25th of August 1841, after the general election, and a few days before the resignation of the Whig cabinet, in the course of the debate on the address in answer to the queen's speech, the people's tale was for the first time fully and properly told in parliament. Mr. Cobden had been sent up to the House as representative of the bread-winners of the kingdom ; and, on the first occasion of his rising, he told the story in a way which fixed the attention of every thoughtful observer of the times. When the daily papers of the 26th of August had reached their destinations throughout the island, there were meditative students, anxious invalids in their sick-chambers, watchful philosophers, and a host of sufferers from want, who felt that a new era in the history of England had opened, now that the people's tale had at last been told in the people's House of parliament. Such observers as these, and multitudes more, asked of all who could tell them who this Richard Cobden was, and what he was like : and the answer was that he was a member of a calico-printing firm in Manchester ; that it was supposed that he would be an opulent man if he prosecuted business as men of business usually do ; but that he gallantly sacrificed the pursuit of his own

stood that they and their employers the farmers were the 'agricultural interest' which the League desired to restore to prosperity and not the landowners the land owners being as Mr Cobden told them, no more agriculturists than shipowners were sailors. By means of exercising the minds of the labouring classes on affairs interesting to them and within their comprehension, the League leaders did more for popular education than has as yet been achieved by any other means. A circumstance less worthy of note is that as the weeks and months passed on we

the government are found speaking their theme is always the backward state of agriculture and the necessity of advancing it in order to enable the country to produce its own food and be independent of the foreigner. The hearers regularly appear anxious to be told about tenures—to know what their rulers thought about leases—about the security the tenant might hope for if he should be willing to lay out capital in the improvement of his land and as regularly they appear to have been disappointed. Amidst a great deal that is very interesting about draining and fencing and an improved farming economy in every way nothing seems to have been ever said about rents and leases. Yet it was unwise to leave these topics to be dealt with exclusively by the League. It was natural that men should watch the movements of the prime minister in relation to such matters at such a time, and a speech of his at the Larnworth town hall at the meeting of a farmers club in October 1843 was read and commented on all over the country. It spoke of leases. After urging on the farmers to improve their knowledge and skill and offering to procure them means of information Sir R. Peel avowed his willingness to grant leases to any tenant of his own who should desire one and could show that he was able and willing to improve the land. The speech conveyed everywhere a strong impression that it was spoken with the earnestness belonging to a critical

season; that the speaker believed the improvement of agriculture to be the only ground of hope of better times for the landed interests. But there was a paragraph at the end which fixed attention more than all the rest. The vicinity of Birmingham was pointed out as a capital advantage to the Leicestershire farmers, as affording a market for their produce; and nothing could be more clear than the assertion of the prime-minister, that the interests of agriculture and manufactures are inseparably united, and that whatever supports the vigour of manufactures must open markets, and keep up the demand for agricultural produce. This doctrine is simple and clear enough; but it was then League doctrine, and absolutely opposite to that taken for granted by the Protectionists; and it excited a proportionate sensation when given forth by the head of the administration.

A month after this, the League met in Manchester, to offer evidence of much increased boldness and power. Last year, they had easily raised £50,000, to be employed in the diffusion of knowledge in relation to the corn-laws: they now resolved to raise £100,000; and six persons stepped forward instantly to offer £500 each, and forty-two gave, on the spot, sums between that amount and £100. Before the meeting closed, nearly £13,000 were subscribed. The money was needed for other purposes than the diffusion of information. For five years the League had petitioned the sovereign and the parliament; and now they thought it time to address themselves to those who made the parliament. They turned to the electors, and pledged themselves to be present and active at every election, and to contest every borough, till a parliament should be obtained which should repeal the corn-laws. They had good reason for confidence in this course; for they had just carried the city of London. Mr. Baring had been rejected for Mr. Pattison, the free-trade candidate; and an analysis of the votes had clearly shown that it was the casting-vote of the League—between the Conservatives and the Whigs—which had decided the election. And herein lay another evidence of the readiness of the League to take advice from its enemies, and profit by their taunts. In parliament, from the time the League

the income-tax. It told of distress caused to the farmers in all degrees, from an irritating diminution of profits down to causing utter ruin, as in the case of an honest farmer—an example of a common case—who was thus reduced, in spite of the most strenuous efforts, from being a capitalist, down, by mournful degrees, to the station of a labourer at

country, from the transactions connected with the sale of game. It told of the rousing of social and political discontents, in places where the hungering poor saw how much human food was devoured by hares and birds, and who felt how irreconcilable were the interests of the peasantry and the magistracy in regard to game. There was no need that it should tell of murders, for the newspapers of the day made known that part of the horror of the case. In January 1844, a gamekeeper of Lord Grantley's, the father of seven children, was found murdered by poachers. In March, a man named Lowther had a double certificate fine upon him, and thought, in his difficulty, of taking some of Lord Normanby's pheasants, wherewith to pay his fine. Being met, he shot Lord Normanby's keeper; and being tried, he was found guilty of murder. But these, and all lesser cases of injury, were unhappily of too common an order to produce much effect on the public mind. The event of the year, in regard to game catastrophes, was one which found its way to the hearts, and troubled the minds, even of some parliamentary sportsmen. The Earl of Stradbroke was well known as a strict game-preserved, and his conspicuous advocacy of all stringent game law provisions in the House of Lords prevented any mistake about his views. We find him, in June of this year, urging amendments on the bill for the preservation of game by night—provisions for making more stringent a law already intolerably oppressive; and

much mischief in the
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dency, on hearing that Lord Stradbroke was coming down for the 1st of September. On the eve of that day, he shot himself through the mouth. The superintendent keeper, Cucksey, was supposed to take alarm lest he should be discovered to have removed pheasants' eggs from Easy's portion of the preserves, to make a better appearance in his own; and he shot himself the next day. Some little difference of tone is to be observed among legislators after this occurrence; a somewhat less stern assertion that the game was theirs, and that they would do what they chose with their own; a somewhat less virulent denunciation of the peasantry for helping themselves to wild creatures which they can never be made to regard as property, and for yielding to a temptation too strong for flesh and blood. For some time past, it had been rumoured that the home secretary was looking closely into the commitments for poaching offences, all over the country, to ascertain their legality; and some persons even ventured to anticipate a proposal from the government for the complete revision of the game-laws. In August, we find Lord Lilford saying in the Upper House that much observation had been occasioned by the home secretary having required from the governor of Northampton jail a return of summary convictions under the Game Act in that county; and Lord Lilford inquired of Lord Wharnccliffe whether it was intended to cast any imputation on the magistrates of the shire. The reply was, that every county had been visited with the same requisition because it was known to government that great irregularities had occurred in the management of such cases. The evidence of the under-secretary for the home department, before Mr. Bright's committee in the next spring, disclosed such abundant reason for this inquiry that we do not wonder at hearing of no more resentment on behalf of magistrates. So many of the mere commitments were illegal that the home secretary made a jail-delivery of game offenders, extensive enough to render it prudent for the magistrates and their champions to drop the subject. Whenever the administration of justice in rural districts becomes a subject for legislation, as municipal reform has been in our time, the evidence of Mr. S. March Phillips, under-secretary for the home depart-

Cobden and Ricardo, and Thorneley and Warburton, behind. By means of this curious coalition and confusion, ministers were outvoted by a majority of 20. Mr Cobden and the League immediately lost much popularity. It was only for a short time, and with people who could not see why he should prefer a duty of 24s to one of 20s, or why he should refuse his help towards overthrowing the administration, to bring in Lord J Russell, with his 8s fixed corn duty. But it soon came to be understood, first, that Mr Cobden and the League were sincere in their constant disclaimer of party purposes and party temper, and next, that the restoration of the Whigs to power could have brought us *no nearer to free-trade*. The Whigs could not have held power for many days at that time, the existing government had a majority of 90 on all party divisions, and of Pe
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When these things became clear, Mr Cobden and the League stood higher than ever.

It was on a Friday night, or rather Saturday morning, that the important division took place, which gave a majority of 20 against ministers. On Sunday morning, a cabinet council was held, and at its close, Sir R Peel went to Buckingham Palace, where he was detained to dinner. It was everywhere rumoured that the queen, then near her confinement, was strongly opposed to his resigning. On Monday, there was another cabinet council, while people out of doors were settling whether the minister would go out, or would propose, as the Whigs had done under a much more significant discomfiture, the continuance of the existing sugar-duties for another year. All day, lists of new ministries were made out to pass the time till evening, and every Conservative who left his card at Sir R. Peel's door was noted and reported. The House was
effort to
mustered

when the premier rose to speak. His speech could not be an effective one or delivered in his best manner, on an occasion so mortifying, and a subject so perplexed, and

implicating so much unsoundness. He neither offered to retire nor proposed the continuance of the existing sugar-duties. He declared his intention of adhering to the ministerial measure, exposed the difficulty of arranging the processes of government in regard to the sugar-duties, from the fact that the existing treaty with Brazil would expire on the 10th of November next, after which that country must be admitted on the same footing as the most favoured nation; while the expiration of the existing duties rendered it impossible to wait, and every one knew that the whole subject must undergo revision in the next session before it could be determined whether or not to renew the income-tax. The rival motion was not one of opposition of principle; it only proposed different amounts, and not a different proportion of duty; and there would therefore be no disgrace to the House if, on surveying the peculiarities of the case, it should reconsider its vote. If parliament had confidence enough in the existing administration to countenance and support its general principle of relaxing duties in ways which appeared safe and gradual, it might be expected not to thwart the government in regard to details of particular measures; and on this ground he asked for a reconsideration of the late embarrassing vote. This was granted him. In a committee of 488, Mr. Miles's proposition was rejected by a majority of 22. Two lasting consequences of this speech and division were, that the extreme Protectionists from that day drew off from Sir R. Peel, and hoped nothing more from him; and that his followers saw that there must be no faltering among them. The minister had a policy in view, clear and well defined; and he must carry it through, without being subject to misadventures through any instability of theirs. Now had been the moment for deciding whether he should be authorised to carry out his policy. It had been decided that he was; and now they were to support him without flinching or vacillation. The next year must be a great one, in regard to affairs of commerce and finance; and this was the preparation for it. The ministerial bill, after some further discussion in both Houses, stopping short of the point of endangering it, became law on the 4th of July.

the crisis is over, and that, as banks must be the source of aid in crises such an act as that of 1844 must, in such a season be either repealed or suspended. The experience of 1847 suggests to Mr Mill a yet worse objection. There are many causes of high prices besides that of undue expansion of credit. Prices may rise by war expenditure, or expenditure for critical political objects, by foreign investments in mines or in loans, by the failure of cotton crops or other raw material from abroad, and by an extraordinary importation of food from bad harvests at home. In these cases the gold would not be drawn from the circulation but from hoards and bank reserves, and in this case the bank reserve is in effect a hoard. But the arrangement of the act for the securing of convertibility is aimed at a state of high prices from undue expansion of credit, and from no other cause. The result is that the paper currency is contracted on occasion of every drain, from any cause whatever, and not merely when the gold is withdrawn from the circulation, and thus a crisis is, and must be occasioned by every derangement of the exchange, or, at least whenever there is pressure in the money-market. Before the crisis of 1847, there had been no speculation which could account for so terrible a collapse as took place in that year. The railway speculation of the time raised the rate of interest, but could not affect the exchange. The drain of gold was caused by the failure of the potato crop at home, and the partial failure of the cotton-crop abroad, circumstances of great financial inconvenience, but not adequate to occasion such a collapse of commercial credit as ensued. The act of 1844 could not operate beneficially here but on the contrary, it wrought injuriously by compelling all who wanted gold for exportation to draw it from the deposits, at the very time that interest was highest, and the loanable capital of the country most deficient. If the bank might then, before there was any collapse of credit have lent its notes there would have been no crisis—only a season of pressure. As it was it was necessary to suspend the act of 1844, and Mr Mill, in conducting his review of the measure and its operation of its advantages and disadvantages, avows that, in his opinion, 'the disadvantages greatly

preponderate.' Much as thinking men may have learned on the subject of currency within a few years, it is evident that more knowledge and experience are needed yet to bring us into a state of security.

Allusion has been made to an excess of railway speculation. Ten years before our present date, there was one railway in England—the Liverpool and Manchester—and in Scotland an awkward one of seven miles long. In these ten years, the system had extended to a magnitude which made it one of the chief boasts, and perhaps the most perplexing difficulty, of the time. Landowners were groaning over the spoliation of their estates, for which no pecuniary award could be any compensation. Their park walls were cut through—their 'dingles and bosky dells' were cut through—and their choicest turf, and their secluded flower-gardens. A serious conflict took place in November, in Lord Harborough's park in Leicestershire, between his lordship's tenantry and the railway surveyors, with the force they assembled. Railways were to run, not only along the southern margin of the island, and round the bases of the misty Scottish mountains, but through the vale in which Furness Abbey had hitherto stood shrouded; and among old cathedrals of which the traveller might soon see half-a-dozen in a day. It was on Easter Monday, 1844, that excursion-trips with return-tickets are first heard of. Here began the benefits of cheap pleasure-journeys to the hard-workers of the nation. The fares were much lowered; yet the extra receipts on the Dover line for three days were £700, and on the Brighton line, £1943. The process had begun from which incalculable blessings were to accrue to the mind, morals, and manners of the nation. From this time, the exclusive class was to meet the humbler classes face to face. The peer and the manufacturer and the farmer were henceforth to meet and talk in the railway carriage, and have a chance of understanding each other. The proud were to part with some of their prejudice, and the ignorant with some of their ignorance; and other walls of partition than park enclosures were to be broken down. The operative was to see new sights, hitherto quite out of his reach—the ocean, the mountain and lake, and old castles and new

gauge,' and of securing uniformity henceforth. The commission asked for was appointed, and made a long report the next year. The commission reported on the whole, in favour of the narrow gauge, and recommended that the Great Western should be accommodated to it, a change which would cost only about £1 000 000. The railway board framed a bill which departed from the recommendation of this report. It recognised the narrow

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also. Their bill, which was passed, disappointed the commercial public and everybody else who saw that uniformity of gauge must be secured sooner or later, and that the longer it was put off the greater would be the difficulty, while serious injury was meantime daily inflicted.

It was related, in our narrative of the preparation of the poor law, that some discontent was occasioned by that clause of the amended law by which the maintenance of illegitimate children was thrown upon the mothers, that the effect of this provision was manifestly and immediately good, but that a mistaken sentiment injurious to the true interests of woman, caused a modification of the law in 1839, by which it was rendered more easy to reach the putative father, and compel him to bear the burden. A further change was made this year in consequence chiefly of the discontent existing among the Welsh peasantry on account of the bastardy law. Rebecca and her daughters insisted upon this as one of their chief grievances, and the commissioners of inquiry into the state of Wales reported the complaint emphatically. The consequence was that a bill was framed and passed by which the mother was enabled to make application against the father, instead of its being made by parish officers, and a stronger compulsion was brought to bear upon the father. The same act made some alterations in the proportion between rates and rateable value, empowered some large towns to provide asylums for the houseless poor, and enabled the commissioners to combine parishes and unions in their several districts into school districts, and also into districts for the audit of accounts.

On the 14th of June, which was Friday, the House of Commons was startled by the presentation of a petition, the news of which produced strong excitement in London and the country during the non-parliamentary days of Saturday and Sunday. Four persons, of whom two were foreigners and two Chartists, sent up a petition, by the hands of Mr. Duncombe, complaining that letters which they had posted within the last month had been detained, broken open and read, by certain of the authorities belonging to her majesty's Post-office. The petitioners declared 'that they considered such a practice, introducing as it did the spy-system of foreign states, as repugnant to every principle of the British constitution, and subversive of the public confidence, which was so essential to a commercial country.' They begged for a commission of inquiry, which should afford redress to themselves, and future security to all letter-writers. Mr. Duncombe desired an explanation, as he had warned the home secretary that he should do. Sir James Graham refused to explain more than that the allegations in the petition were in part untrue—the letters of three of the signers having never, to the best of his belief, been meddled with; that, with regard to the fourth, he had acted in accordance with a law which had been renewed so recently as 1837; that, by that law, the secretaries of state had the power of opening and detaining letters; and that, under this sanction, he had issued a warrant, since destroyed, for opening the letters of one of the petitioners. He would not say which of the four it was; but Joseph Mazzini was universally understood to be the one.

Sir James Graham himself, as a true Englishman, could hardly quarrel with the excitement caused in the House and the country by this disclosure, though the popular indignation was directed against himself. It was a case in which the national heart and mind might well be excused for pronouncing judgment prior to the production of evidence. The evidence must now come out; and the home secretary knew how it would at last modify opinions about himself, and set him right with the nation; but meantime, though he had to run the gauntlet through a long and bitter infliction of insults, he

twenty resolutions, all consonant to the czars modes of thinking, and certain to insure that brilliant favour with which he was now regarding the Austrian court. In the Caucasus, the emperor was pushing the war with the desperation of despotic wrath. In one season, the fever cut off 5000 of his soldiers, and his forces were surrounded by fire in the forests obstructed by barricades at all openings, and crushed in the passes by rocks rolled from above, 2000 officers were slain in one campaign, and the general in-chief, Woronzoff, appeared with a countenance of deep melancholy at its close—melancholy on account of slain

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on now elections terrifying the people into submission,
but by no means increasing their love for Russian pro-
tection, or their desire for Russian intercourses. We are
told by an authority worthy of all respect, that since the
strange accidents which caused the Russian army to be
encamped at Paris, not only has Russia declared herself
the protector of the cause of monarchy in Europe, but her
people have become fully persuaded that, as other states
fall to pieces under the explosive force of the democratic
principle, Russia is to put them together again and dis-
pose of them at her pleasure. Absurd as this notion
appears to us, it is sedulously declared wherever Russia
has partisans, and especially in Germany. It appears to
have been in the discharge of his assumed vocation that
the czar achieved the last act of despotic meddling which
falls within the period of our history—the extinction of
the independence of Cracow, in 1846. It has been related
how Cracow was insulted and overborne in 1836, in
February 1846, the Austrians who held the city, were
driven out by those who conceived themselves the proper

inhabitants, and who were exasperated into the adventure of striking one more blow for the liberties of Poland. They were supported by an extensive insurrection in Silesia, and for a time held their ground wonderfully. But they could not long resist the pressure of the three great powers who now united to overthrow for ever the independence they had bound themselves by treaties to protect. The Austrian forces took the town of Podgorze, which commands Cracow from the opposite bank of the Vistula; the Prussian general, De Felden, invested Cracow, and the Russian troops marched into the city, without opposition. Without opposition, because all the inhabitants had fled except the aged and children. The three protecting powers presently settled the case of Cracow among themselves. As the treaties of 1815 were entered into among themselves, they could not see that the rest of the world had anything to do with the fate of Cracow, except to hear the news; and in November, therefore, they merely announced, with a condescending exhibition of reasons, that the republic of Cracow was no more; that the treaties were revoked; and that the city and territory of Cracow were annexed to, and for ever incorporated with, the Austrian monarchy.

As he held his position by a religious as well as political tenure, it was impossible for the czar to tolerate varieties of religious faith. The Jews were made to feel this in 1843. By a ukase issued in that year, all Jews residing within fifteen leagues of the frontier were compelled to sell their goods on the instant, and repair to the interior of the empire. All who could not convince the government held a position of which government was large, were sentenced to banishment to the Caucasus. The Jews were to be subject henceforth to military service; and their children were held liable to the emperor for the naval service. For the pope and his church had met with insolent treatment from the great potentate of the Greek Church; and it was clear that the pope was growing more and more alarmed. As his tone changed, that of the czar grew gracious; and in 1846 he resumed his suspended diplomatic relations with Russia. Thither one of his ablest ministers from

war with England, and the occasion, or the pretext, for expecting a war with England was the difference that had arisen about the eastern question. France believed that the safety of Turkey would be best secured by putting Syria under the rule of the pacha, and that the pacha would prove quiet and trustworthy when once settled in his guaranteed dominion. The other four powers believed that the ambition of the pacha would keep him always restless, and that if he was not now kept in bounds, there might be no end to the disturbance he might cause, and the incursions he would make. Meanwhile, time pressed. The risings in the Lebanon stimulated the members of the convention. If France could not come over to their view, neither could they wait, and thus it was that the treaty of July 15 was signed by four powers, to the exclusion of France. France was jealous, and remonstrated through her minister, M. Guizot, and next, she became quick-sighted to see 'concealed menaces' in the declaration of the convention for the pacification of the Levant. She next saw, in imagination, the combined forces of the four powers—or at least the armies of England—marching into France, and hence the renewed cry for the fortification of Paris. In October, the French really believed war with England to be inevitable. M. Thiers, the prime minister of France, had instructed M. Guizot to say that France would consider it a cause of war if Mohammed Ali should be driven from Egypt as British and Turkish cannon were driving him out of Syria, and just after, the young sultan committed that foolish act of haste—declaring the deposition of Mohammed Ali. When the news reached France, the politicians and journalists of France declared that a true *casus belli* had now occurred. It was not so, for England could and did immediately prove that she was resolved to secure to the pacha the dominion of Egypt, but the war spirit did not decline in France, in consequence of this or of any other explanation that could be afforded. The king was known to be as earnestly in favour of peace as his minister, M. Thiers, was disposed

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about the speech to be delivered at the opening of the chambers. The minister desired to announce a vast new levy of troops; the king would not hear of it, and the minister resigned, with all his colleagues. In Queen Victoria's speech at the end of the preceding session, France had not been mentioned at all, though a notification had been given of the convention for the pacification of the Levant; and the French had complained bitterly of this as a slight. In the speech of the King of the French, no such slight was offered in return; for the mention of the four powers was serious enough. Amidst the deep silence of a listening auditory, as numerous as the chambers could contain, the king announced that the convention and its declaration imposed grave duties on him; that he prized the dignity of France as much as its tranquillity; that the reasons for the extraordinary credits which had been opened would be readily understood; and that he hoped, after all, that peace would be preserved.

There was no reason, indeed, why it should not. The affairs of the east were soon considered settled: 'it takes two to make a quarrel;' and none of the four powers had any present cause of war against France. If there was to be a war, France must begin. She did not begin; and all the world knew that a warlike ministry had been dismissed for a pacific one. In a little while, the chances of peace were further improved by Lord Aberdeen's entrance upon the foreign office in London, in the place of Lord Palmerston. Rightly or wrongly, Lord Palmerston was supposed to have an extraordinary talent for creating uncomfortable feelings in foreign allies, and for bringing on awkward and critical events. He was regarded as a busy, clever, imperious man, very trying to have to do with; while Lord Aberdeen was found to be the high-bred gentleman of the diplomatic world—liberal, quiet, not apt to interfere, but frank when actually engaged in affairs, as watchful as inoffensive, and, without supineness, disposed to put a good construction on the acts of allies, and to make allowance for the mere harmless irritability of weak and harassed rulers of any country less happy than our own. It was well that the ministers on both sides of the Channel were, in 1841, men of peace; for the

overthrow the existing regency of Spain—a belief which of course set the English government closely on the watch.

In 1843, the regent Espartero and his party fell into adversity, amidst the changing fortunes of civil war. Espartero and his family escaped to England, where their welcome was cordial. The lord mayor and corporation of London invited the regent to a public dinner at the Mansion House. The King of the French did not appear to resent this. In his speech at the close of the year, he expressed his deep interest in the young Queen of Spain on occasion of her having been declared of age while yet only thirteen years old. He expressed hope that Spain would be in a more tranquil condition henceforward and avowed that this hope was much strengthened by the perfect understanding which subsisted between the Queen of England and himself.

In January 1844 M. Guizot made disclosures of great importance in regard to the relations between France and England. After showing that during a recent visit of the Duke de Bordeaux to London under the name of the Comte de Chambord no manifestations had been made in the least unfriendly to the existing government of France, he turned to the subject of Spain. He avowed that an honest and friendly appeal had been made to the English government which had been responded to in a manner no less honest and friendly—in appeal as to whether there was really any occasion for the rivalry of the two interests on the soil of Spain, whether there was any substantial ground for such rivalry, whether it was not in truth a struggle kept up merely as a matter of custom and tradition. This being admitted, an agreement had ensued that all considerations should henceforth give way before the great object of securing the tranquillisation and prosperity of Spain. The two cabinets had gone further still in their discussions and agreements. They had treated of the marriage of Isabella II. and England had consented that no prince whose connection with the Spanish throne could be injurious to France should be permitted to marry the young queen.

The first mention we meet with of the marriage of Isabella II. is in 1843, in the form of a disclaimer by the

government which drove out Espartero, of any intention of carrying the queen towards the Portuguese frontier, as had been reported, for the sake of marrying her to a prince of the family of Saxe-Coburg-Cohary, then on a visit to Lisbon. From the time of M. Guizot's speech of January 1844, the queen's marriage was the prominent point of all discussions on Spain. In March, Christina returned to Spain, and was met by her daughters on the road to Madrid. On the 23rd, they all entered Madrid in state. A vulture had hovered over the head of Espartero, it was said, when he last quitted it. Now, when Christina was re-entering it, a dove flew into the carriage, and was taken to her bosom by the little queen. Subsequent events sadly discredited the omen. In October, when a bill for retrenching the chief safeguards and most liberal provisions of the constitution was brought forward, a clause was found in it which authorised the queen to marry without the consent of the cortes; and at the same time, rumours went forth, assuming to be from authority, that it had been settled among the royal family of Spain, that the queen should marry the Prince of Asturias, the son of Don Carlos. At the same time, again—on the 13th of October—Christina married the man whose mistress she had been for seven years, and by whom she had several children. Her marriage now involved questions, both political and pecuniary, of great consequence; questions as to the date at which, by this connection, she had forfeited her office of regent, and her annual allowance from the state, and her title of queen-mother. The money and the title were now secured to her by special grants and decrees. But the question remained how the consent of the pope to this marriage had been obtained; and whether, in fact, it had been obtained at all. While all this was discussed, the new ministers were frightened into altering their bill so far as to continue the exclusion of the family of Don Carlos from connection with the throne of Spain; but this act was again neutralised by what the pope had done. It came out that he had permitted the marriage of Christina on certain conditions—one of which was that all laws and decrees should be annulled which excluded the family of Don Carlos; and

them—owing to certain limitations of its functions and a partition of power between itself and the states along the frontier. Every one was aware that, under the difficulties of the case, much would depend on the character and temper of the president of the republic. General Harrison entered upon the office in March of this year, 1841, but, before any clear anticipation could be formed of his temper and policy, he died—only four weeks after his entrance upon office. By the regulation provided for such a possible case he was succeeded in his function by the vice president Mr Tyler, and it remained to be seen how the affairs of the States would go on under the rule—for the first time—of a president who had not been elected to that office by the people.

The right-of-search question was becoming a cause of controversy before the M Leod affair was settled, and now the controversy was fast growing into a quarrel. The American minister in London maintained that the right existed only under certain treaties, and that countries which, like the United States, had refused participation in such treaties, could not permit their vessels to be searched for evidence of traffic in slaves or on any other pretence. Lord Palmerston had, before going out of office admitted this but shown that the difficulty arose from slavers hoisting, unauthorised, any flag that might suit their purpose best. All that was claimed was—not a right to search American merchantmen but merely to examine their ship's papers, to ascertain whether they really were American.

It will be seen what a wide field of international law was extended for argumentation when Lord Aberdeen came into office. In the following December, Lord Aberdeen communicated to the American minister the nature of the instructions given to British cruisers, and the frank and candid exchange of views of the two ministers led to happy results. Their communications to them in a message to the nations may well lead us to doubt whether the apparent difference between the two governments is not rather one of definition than of

principle.' And again: 'It seems obvious to remark, that a right which is only to be exercised under such restrictions and precautions, and risk, in case of any assignable damage to be followed by the consequences of a trespass, can scarcely be considered anything more than a privilege asked for, and either conceded or withheld on the usual principles of international comity.' The president's lead was followed by congress. Congress agreed that the honour of the American flag 'demanded that it should not be used by others to cover an iniquitous traffic;' and, like the president, congress 'chose to make a practical settlement of the question.' And thus, without any concession being made on the side of Great Britain, but only by means of her object becoming better understood, it was settled that, on any fair occasion of suspicion whether the United States flag was shown rightfully or as a pretence, she might require the production of the ship's papers, under the liability of making reparation for damage or delay, if the vessel should be found to be really American. The Americans also agreed to keep a squadron off the coast of Africa, to guard against abuse of the American flag. And thus, in the spring of 1843, was the right-of-search question settled with the United States.

Some complications had occurred in the course of the controversy which threatened to prevent its amicable adjustment. A Virginian brig, called the *Creole*, was on its way to New Orleans in October 1841, when some slaves, who formed part of the cargo, obtained possession of the ship, wounded the captain and some of the crew, killed a passenger who was the owner of some of their number, and then carried the vessel to Nassau, in New Providence, one of the West India Islands. On the requisition of the American consul, the magistrates of Nassau detained and imprisoned nineteen negroes who were charged with participation in the mutiny and murder. The rest, 114 in number, against whom there was no charge, were allowed to go where they would, under the British law that every slave becomes free on touching British soil. The governor of the Bahamas refused to detain them, and also to forward the nineteen to America till he received directions from home. The law-officers and law-peers of England gave a

CHAPTER XIII

India—Sikh Invasion—The Sandwich Islands—Van Diemen's Land—
 South Australia—New Zealand—Canada—Compensation Question
 —Fires at Quebec—St John's—Hamburg—Smyrna—New York

IN the records of Indian affairs during this period we find a curious mingling of notices—the formation of companies for the construction and management of railways, which are to encourage commerce and extend peace over the whole of those vast regions, and hints that the British may soon be compelled to interfere in the Punjab, from the excesses that were perpetrated there against one after another of the rulers who succeeded Runjeet Singh. In 1845, we find the India Company addressing the governor general, Sir Henry Hardinge on the subject of railways, in the evident anticipation that the peninsula may in time be intersected with them so as completely to change its financial condition, and perhaps the character of its population and in the same year—towards its close—we see our territory invaded in the north west, by an army of Sikhs crossing the Sutlej, whether with or without the sanction of the existing government at Lahore, was not immediately known. The governor general was in the north west at the time, having had reason to expect some trouble there, and it was on the 13th of December that the decisive news reached him that a Sikh army had crossed the Sutlej. On the 18th, the battle of Moodkee was fought, under Sir Hugh Gough, when the Sikhs were beaten, but not effectually discomfited. In this battle fell Sir Robert Sale, the hero of Jellalabad—a man whom the whole nation would have been delighted to see enjoying his old age in England, after his long toils and sufferings in the East. Here however, his left thigh was shattered by a ball, and he soon died of the wound. The next battle, that of Ferozshah, was rendered remarkable by the circumstance of the governor general offering his services

to Sir Hugh Gough as second in command; and he actually remained in action in that capacity, conspicuously throughout the day. The foe proved more formidable than had been expected—their skill appearing to equal their hardihood. It was no easy matter to vanquish them; but after the battles on the 21st and 22nd, they were routed, and their guns captured. Our loss was heavy; and even those who believed that the Punjaub was now quieted and the Sikhs silenced for ever, felt that these results were obtained at a severe cost. But there were not a few who foresaw what has since happened—new conflicts, and the sad necessity of annexing the Punjaub to our territory, for the sake of peace, and of the safety of the inhabitants of the north-western provinces.

One more battle—that of Aliwal, fought on the 28th of January 1846—drove the Sikhs from our territory, and impelled them to take refuge in their last stronghold on the left bank of the Sutlej. From this position they were driven by the battle of Sohraon, on the 10th of February, when the governor-general was again present under Sir H. Gough. The slaughter on our side was terrible enough; but that of the Sikhs was sickening to hear of. They were drowned in shoals in the river, and shot by hundreds as they attempted to escape into their own territory. They were followed by the British army; and the governor-general undertook the arrangement of the affairs of the Punjaub. He believed that, by the establishment of a proteetorate, he had avoided the evil of the annexation of the territory. But time has proved him mistaken. The Sikhs have since risen again, and have again been chastised, almost to the point of destruction; and the Punjaub is now British territory.

A part of the work of the last parliamentary session we have to record was voting thanks and welcoming honours to the heroes of the Sikh war—one of the briefest of our Indian wars, but one of the most brilliant. There was much heartiness of admiration on the occasion, but very little joy; rather, there was so much regret that it was evident that thirty years of European peace had humanised the English mind, and raised it to a point of feeling which becomes a civilised nation compelled to enter the

great difficulties and a source of disturbance was opened up during his short administration which makes our relations with Canada at this day as doubtful as they have ever been

Two leaders who had been in opposition in Lord Sydenham's time now found themselves stronger than the government in the assembly. Mr Baldwin the leader of a small liberal party in what was lately Upper Canada and Mr Lafontaine the leader of the French party in what had been Lower Canada found a large majority to their bond in the assembly. The governor general must now choose between sanctioning the preponderance of this radical party, and governing by the support of the minority in the assembly. It being now the principle of Canadian government to rule in accordance with the majority of the representatives he did the thing thoroughly, making Baldwin and Lafontaine his ministers. He joined with them a cautious and sensible man from Lord Durham's coadjutors—Mr Daly, whose presence in the cabinet might be hoped to act as a restraint on any political intemperance. The difficulty which would have embarrassed the administration of Sir C. Bagot, if he had remained in his office related to compensation for losses sustained in the rebellions. A bill for compensation for losses suffered by loyalists was so altered in the assembly as to include losses suffered at the hands of the loyalists—that is the soldiery volunteers and others. Mr Baldwin proposed and carried this alteration. The sum voted was £40 000, but no means of raising it were provided. This very important amendment caused little discussion and no

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the present and the other party had no wish to revive it—perceiving doubtless how its discussion must renew the conflict of races. Sir Charles Bagot's health prevented

gave way. Before the end of the year, he was too ill to remain; and he died soon after his return to England.

Sir Charles T. Metcalfe succeeded him, in February 1843. The same policy was carried on, and the same ministry remained in power. The fine qualities of this excellent ruler were known through his government of Jamaica, where he had been sent by Lord Melbourne's ministry in 1839. For a few months, all appeared to go well; but in the autumn, disputes arose out of a claim made by his ministry to be consulted about appointments to office, which all agreed to be the prerogative of the crown. The ministry resigned, in consequence of the refusal of Sir C. Metcalfe to admit their right to be consulted; and the session closed hastily before its business was finished. For some time there was no ministry; and when there was, it was a moderate 'English' ministry—Mr. Daly and Mr. Draper being the leading representatives in it of the two sections of country. The French party were now in opposition for nearly four years; and now therefore was the time for settling the affair of the £40,000. The governor-general and his cabinet admitted the justice of giving compensation to sufferers of both parties; but the doing it was difficult in the extreme. Instead of charging the money for Canada West on the general revenue, they appropriated to the purpose two local funds which were paid almost entirely by the English in the western province. So far all went well. The trouble was with the other province. A commissioner was appointed to manage the business, with regard to Canada East—to manage it, everybody thought; but it soon appeared that they had power only to receive claims, and not to decide upon them. The commissioners applied to the executive to know how they were to distinguish between claims from rebels, and those proffered by persons not actually involved in the rebellion. The answer was, that none were to be excluded but those who had been convicted by law; and when one of the leaders, exiled to Bermuda under Lord Durham's ordinance, applied personally to the governor-general to know what he ought to do, the governor-general desired him to send in his account, reminding him with a smile that he had not been

course of being rapidly filled up. The term for which the continuance of the income-tax was proposed was, again, three years. As no one could foresee the approaching potato-rot, there was every reason to anticipate that, in April 1848, the tax might be removed; and this was the hope held out by the minister.

The most obvious thing about this scheme was that there was no popularity-seeking in it. There had been no agitation against the taxes now repealed, while there could be no doubt of the delight of the nation if the income-tax had been abolished. With such a surplus, a less far-sighted minister would have abolished it. Sir R. Peel, instead of giving this immediate delight, preferred using the opportunity of prosperity to strengthen and deepen the foundations of our industrial and commercial welfare. The obvious greatness of this policy secured respect for his scheme, even from those who most opposed particular portions of it.

When the discussion came on, on the 17th, it appeared that many members entertained objections to one or another portion of the scheme; but the continuance of the income-tax was—to the great satisfaction of the country at large, who by this time understood their own interest in its continuance till free-trade should be fully obtained—voted by a majority of 208 in a House of 318. The strongest opposition, because the best grounded in principle, was against the sugar-duties, Mr. Milner Gibson moving a resolution against differential duties. But ministers were too strong to be effectually opposed on any part of their measure; and their bills became law on the 8th of May.

At the close of the session it appeared to observers as if scarcely anything but the corn-laws had been talked of, when once the business of the budget had been settled. Whatever subject was introduced, that of the corn-laws presently appeared and swallowed it up. The farmer's friends were complaining that wheat was at 45s. in spite of the new sliding-scale; and the farmer's other kind of friends, the free-traders, were complaining on his behalf that he could not make his land answer, on account of legal restriction under the name of protection. The new manure, called guano, was brought, at vast expense, from

a distance of almost half the world, when the farmer might obtain a far better manure, and more of it, on his land, if he might only import provender for a sufficient proportion of stock. The land was not half cultivated, and the peasantry were consequently insufficiently employed, and the labouring classes insufficiently fed. Other speakers had compassion for the landlords, and others again for the labourers. From whatever point the question was looked at, it was clear that all the three classes who, however opposed in reality, were included together under the designation of 'the agricultural interest,' were in a low and discontented state—and while it was so, the question of the corn-laws must of necessity be always coming uppermost. Mr Cobden moved for a committee of inquiry into the existing agricultural distress and its causes and got out what he wanted to say before he was defeated by a majority of 92 in a House of 334. The answer of the government by the mouth of Mr Sidney Herbert, was that such committees were never of any use, that knowledge enough had been obtained already, and that the sensitive agricultural interest would be alarmed, and suppose that government contemplated the withdrawal of their protection. Whatever he said in evidence of the improving condition of agriculture was overthrown by the counter-statements of Conservatives as well as free-traders, who brought proof, from the votes of agricultural bodies in various parts of England, that the distress was not light and partial but general and very severe. There were a few unguarded words however, in Mr Herbert's speech which did more good to the free-trade cause than all the feeble things he said—not in favour of the principle of protection, for he said nothing of the sort—but against immediate change. Mr Sidney Herbert was a young man, and ardent, as young men in or out of the government usually are, in political discussion. His ardour found little scope in a negative and halting speech like that which he had to make in reply to Mr Cobden, and it broke out in a sentence, one of whose phrases was never again dropped while the controversy lasted. 'He must add further, as the representative of an agricultural constituency, that it would be distasteful to the agriculturists to come whining

to parliament at every period of temporary distress; nor would they do so. Parliament have accorded to the agriculturists a certain amount of reduced protection. With that they are content; and in adverse circumstances, such as failure of crop and the like, they would meet them manfully, and put their shoulders to the wheel. . . . He was of opinion that they could not do better than to follow the excellent advice to expend capital on their farms and in improvements of the land, and so by their own efforts restore prosperity. The government had no wish to maintain a high monopoly without alteration, as it had proved; nor had it made any promises to the agriculturists of certain prices in corn, which they knew that no law could give.' Such language as this from a representative of an agricultural constituency, was received with dismay by the farmers all over England. They complained of the mockery of exhorting them to put capital into their land when their capital was all gone; they were shocked at the avowal that prices could not be regulated by law; they were assured at last, in the roughest way, that they were to have no more aid from the government; but the insufferable insult was the phrase about coming 'whining' for protection. The free-traders thanked the young statesman for that word; and they made good use of it as long as it was wanted. From that night, too, they looked upon him, and therefore upon his colleagues, as their own. Whatever Mr. Herbert and his colleagues might themselves think of their position and prospects, it was clear to the free-traders everywhere that they wanted only a little more enlightenment—a little further disentanglement from the prejudices of a life—to join heartily in sweeping away the mischief of protection to agriculture. There was now no difference of principle between the ministry and the free-traders. It had become a mere question of prudence. In a narrow sense it was called a question of good-faith; but those who most strongly insisted that all actual pledges must be kept, perceived that the time must be near when conviction of the truth on the part of the farmers themselves must bring on an absolution on every hand.

A few nights after the vote on Mr. Cobden's motion, the

cause of the free traders was well pleaded by an antagonist Mr Miles moved that the surplus revenue of the time should be applied to the relief of the agricultural interest, and he made bitter complaints of the last sliding scale as wholly ineffectual for the relief of the farmers. His speech was one long complaint of the plenty that overspread the land—the abundance of corn and the cheapness of meat. He laid himself open to the admonitory reply that it was impossible to set about making food scarce and dear, and that the proper course evidently was for the farmers to study how to produce the requisite abundance at home by improved cultivation, without which it must assuredly be obtained from abroad. As Sir James Graham observed—premising that he considered protection to agriculture just and necessary—Mr Miles's statements required rather a repeal of the corn laws, and of what remained of the tariff, than so small a measure as he proposed, but Sir James Graham did not admit the facts with regard to the severity and prevalence of agricultural distress. Before the debate closed, some words were uttered by an enemy of the government which read after the event, proved what expectations were abroad. The rancour and levity of Mr Disraeli's speeches prevent their being relied on for accuracy of statement, but, like all other speeches, they make unconscious revelations of fact which are valuable in the retrospect. On this occasion, while the tone of insult goes for nothing, the prophecy is a fact of some weight. After saying that Sir R. Peel "sends down his valet, who says in the gentlest manner, "We can have no whining here," Mr Disraeli proceeded "Protection appears to be in about the same condition that Protestantism was in 1828. The country will draw its moral. For my part, if we are to have free trade, I, who honour genius, prefer that such measures should be proposed by the honorable member for Stockport [Mr Cobden], than by one who through skilful parliamentary manoeuvres, has tampered with the generous confidence of a great people and of a great party. For myself, I care not what may be the result. Dissolve, if you please, the parliament you have betrayed, and appeal to the people who, I believe, mistrust you. For me there remains this at least—the

opportunity of expressing thus publicly my belief that a Conservative government is an organised hypocrisy.'

Mr. Miles's motion being negatived, two more debates on the great subject remained. On the 3rd of June, Mr. Ward moved for a committee of inquiry on the burdens and exemptions of the landed interest; and on the 10th, Mr. Villiers brought forward his annual motion on the corn-laws. On Mr. Ward's motion, the Protectionists' majority was 182 to 109; and on Mr. Villiers's, 254 to 122. These debates showed a marked advance in the question. Sir James Graham repeated with increased emphasis his conviction that the prosperity of the landed interest was dependent on that of other classes; and that a gradual repeal of protection would prove to be necessary for agriculture, as for every other interest. He only protested against suddenness. Another significant fact was that Lord J. Russell, in bringing forward a set of resolutions on the condition of the labouring-classes, declared that he could not now recommend the fixed duty of 8s. which he had proposed in 1841. He supposed no one would propose a smaller duty than 4s.; and he, if it was his affair, should propose one of 4s., 5s., or 6s. The cause was now felt to be won. It was universally understood that Lord J. Russell never went before public opinion, and that he rarely, if ever, knew the extent and bearing of public opinion. If he, then, admitted that four years had authorised him to reduce his fixed duty one-half—for he invited pressure to make it 4s.—it became almost a calculable matter how soon the Whig leader would admit that the other half of his fixed duty was indefensible. And the amusing looseness of his terms of proposal—the offered choice of 4s., 5s., or 6s.—gave the strongest impression of a temporary playing with the subject, in preparation for working it seriously. From this night, it was taken for granted everywhere that the Whig leaders were in competition with the existing ministry for the repeal of the corn-laws; and even the question of time was brought within a narrow compass.

The royal speech on the prorogation of parliament, on the 9th of August, was the last thoroughly cheerful speech which the nation was to enjoy for some

account given to her majesty, through the speaker, of the work of the session, we find that, besides the business already noted—Irish education, British railways and fiscal improvements—the parliament had amended the law of Scotland in regard to the relief of the poor, promoted the drainage of laud and enclosure of commons, and extended the provisions of the Bank Act of last year, with some modifications, to the banks of Scotland and Ireland. The prevailing impression of those who watched the course of parliamentary affairs was that the disintegration of parties was proceeding more and more rapidly, as the commercial element rose above the agricultural, and that from this

it had no rest or pause till the agricultural

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that were erroneously construed.

Meantime it had begun to rain. It began to rain, after a cold and late spring, at the beginning of the summer, and it seemed as if it was never going to leave off again. In some parts of the country, the sun was scarcely seen from the month of May till the next spring. Those who first marked the perseverance of the soft falling rain thought of the budding and blossoming promised in Scripture, where the snow and rain are shown forth as illustrations of the fertilising influences of Providence, and thus far, there was nothing but hope of good. Then, as the fall went on, with less softness and more dull, and fewer intermissions, men began to fear for the harvest, and to calculate that much dry foreign wheat would be necessary to mix with our own damp and unripened grain. Then arose the fear that our own inferior grain would not keep, so thoroughly ready for sprouting would some of it appear to be, and, in the midst of this it became clear that throughout Europe, with a few local exceptions, the harvest would prove a deficient one, so that, unless there was unusual abundance in America, the prospect was a fearful one. Still, the most sagacious and the most timid were far from conceiving what the rain was doing by its persevering continual soaking into the ground. First, a market gardener here and there, a farmer, an Irish cottier, saw a brown spot appear on the margin of the leaf of the

potato, and did not remember ever to have seen such a thing before. The brown spot grew black and spread, and covered the stalk, till a whole potato-field looked as if a scorching wind had passed over it. Yet, perhaps, the roots might appear to be in a good state; and one man would let the plants alone, while another would mow off the tops, and wait to see what happened. The stealthy rain had, by some means yet as mysterious as ever, generated some minute plague—of what nature nobody yet knows, if indeed it is certain that the rain was the instrument—a plague so minute that no microscope has yet convicted it, yet so powerful that it was soon to overthrow governments, and derange commerce, and affect for all time to come the political fate of England, and settle the question of the regeneration or the destruction of Ireland. The minute plague spread and spread, till it blackened thousands of acres, and destroyed the food of millions of men. In some wholesome regions, the last to be affected, the inhabitants would hardly believe what they heard and read. The newspapers were exaggerating shamefully for some political object; the League was trading on the rain, and frightening the public; private correspondents were credulous, and too fond of excitement; their own potatoes, and most of their neighbours', looked very well; and the clergy were again ready with rebuke of anxiety and doubt, saying that there had always been talk of bad weather, but that, somehow or other, there was always a harvest. When, in such a favoured region, two or three benevolent gentry stored up their own sound potatoes for the use of the sick and the aged in case of need, and laid in rice and macaroni and other substitutes for winter use at their own tables, their neighbours for a time laughed at the precaution, and said that potatoes were abundant and excessively cheap in the markets. But soon the change appeared even in these healthiest districts. A man might exhibit his green and flourishing crop to a stranger, and say that he should take it up on Monday: on that night would come a thunder-storm; and the next morning, if the owner stirred the soil of his blackened field with a pitchfork, up came such a steaming stench as showed him that his field was turned putrid. And then it became known

why potatoes were abundant and cheap in the markets. Everybody was eager to sell before his potatoes had time to rot. What was to become of the poor Irish if this went on, was now the most anxious question of the time.

As for the League, it was busy enough during the rain, but not more than it had been before. The Agricultural Protection Society, which had risen up in opposition to it, declared, in the preceding December, that the League had ceased its missionary efforts and become a mere registration club while it had itself circulated 30 000 copies of an address in favour of protection. The League registration went on quite as diligently as was alleged, but in another month—January 1845—it appeared that 150 meetings in ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ 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tion of his trade, and, in December, there was a meeting at Manchester, at which one member subscribed £1500; twenty-two subscribed £1000 each; one, £700; and eight, £500. The enthusiasm had risen as the crisis drew on; and the sum of £62,000 was presently obtained within the month, while the real danger was such that there was a doubt of the realization of the whole quarter of a million, if it should be wanted. And all this was after £122,508 had been raised by previous subscriptions.

By this time, however, there were many who doubted whether either money or wheat would be required much longer. The rain having gone on, people began inquiring in September whether the ports were to be opened; and next, whether we could be sure of supplies at short notice and in a prevalent bad season, if the ports were opened to-morrow. Then some people who had hitherto talked without thinking, began to say—How dangerous such speculation now was, and how much more sure against future we should be if foreign countries should have recourse for us every year, instead of being called upon to supply us out of their own stock, or from an accidental surplus. On the 10th of October, Lord Ashley addressed a letter to the electors of Dorsetshire, which was eagerly read all over the kingdom. He declared his conviction that the destiny of the corn-laws was fixed, and that 'the leading men of the great parties in the legislature are by no means disinclined to their eventual abolition.' In the beginning of November, cabinet-councils were frequent; and rumours were abroad that extensive inquiries had been for some time making by the minister about the results of the harvest. Rumour spoke also of disagreements in the cabinet; but these were supposed to relate merely to the question of opening the ports. At this time, Lord Morpeth, a late Whig minister, joined the League, and sent a letter with his contribution, in which he declared: 'I wish to record in the most emphatic way I can my conviction that the time is come for a total repeal of the corn-laws, and my protest against the continued inaction of the State in the present emergency.' Lord Morpeth declared that he wrote this letter 'without concert or consultation with any one else;' and events proved that he wrote it without any more insight

than people in general had into what 'the State'—that is, the cabinet—was about Lord John Russell presently showed himself determined not to share the 'inaction of the State' He addressed to the electors of London a letter from Edinburgh, dated November 22 1845, which he declared to be occasioned by the separating of the ministers without apparent result, after their frequent cabinet meetings After confessing his changes of opinion during the last twenty years, and relating the stages of his advocacy of a continually lessening amount of fixed duty, Lord J Russell declared 'It is no longer worth while to contend for a fixed duty' The struggle to make bread scarce and dear when it is clear that part, at least, of the additional price goes to increase rent, is a struggle deeply injurious to an aristocracy which this quarrel once removed, is strong in property, strong in the construction of our legislature strong in opinion strong in ancient associations and the memory of immortal services Let us then unite to put an end to a system which has proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture the source of bitter divisions among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality and crime among the people' This invitation was valuable as a preparation for the deed to be done by other hands. But it was too late as regarded Lord J Russell himself It met with no hearty response His position would now have been a glorious one if he had ever before advocated perfect freedom of the corn trade, and he would have been trusted if he had been a Conservative leader, like his rival—a Conservative leader convinced and converted by the stringency of circumstances, but, as an avowed leader of a Liberal party, converted only at the moment when he should have been attaining the aim of many years—at the moment when his Conservative rival was undergoing the agony of conversion—he was not trusted, and it was impossible that he should be This letter, on which he clearly founded great hopes, did him no good, the Conservative convert was appointed to the work When the time came for explanations in parliament, Lord J Russell made complaints of his letter being regarded as a party move—as a bid for office, but there was one feature in the letter which deprived him of all

right to resent such an interpretation—it abounded in taunts and expressions of spleen towards Sir R. Peel. The whole composition has the air of being aimed at the minister.

It is known by means of ministerial explanations afterwards, what took place during this period when all the world was on the watch, and no one could learn anything. The cabinet councils held between the 1st and the 6th of November were for the purpose of considering the information sent in from Ireland about the potato-erop, and from the whole kingdom about the general erop. As regarded Ireland, the reports were alarming beyond description. The ministers could deliberate upon them without disturbance from without; for as yet there was no agitation about opening the ports which could affect the action of the government—no petitions, no urgency from public meetings or in the newspapers. The desire of Sir R. Peel at that time was to throw open the ports by an order in council, or by calling parliament together immediately for the purpose; but only three of his colleagues agreed with him; and the ministers separated, on the understanding that they should reassemble at the call of the premier. His hope was that the growing alarm would presently convince all his colleagues of the necessity of opening the ports. Commissions were organised for the prevention of a sudden pressure of extreme distress, especially in Ireland; and on the 25th of November, the ministers again met, to prepare instructions for these commissions. The instructions were agreed on; but then it appeared to the premier that these instructions were inconsistent with the maintenance of the corn-laws in their existing state. He reserved to himself the power of insuring a free supply from abroad; and now his colleagues had become so impressed by the daily increasing alarm as to afford a hope that they would withdraw the opposition with which they before met the proposal. But Lord Stanley could not yield; nor could one or two others. If the opening of the ports had taken place at the beginning of November, it would have been done with a strong hand; but the delay had admitted of the appearance of Lord J. Russell's letter; and now, if the cabinet was not absolutely united—if a single resignation

took place—it would appear as if the letter of a rival had determined the ministers' views, and his acts would have lost all their moral weight.

It was in the midst of the second series of consultations that an incident occurred which startled the whole kingdom, and gave the newspapers plenty to say. On the 4th of December, the *Times* announced that it was the intention of government to repeal the corn laws, and to call parliament together in January for the purpose. Some ministerial papers doubted, and then indignantly denied this. Some journals said that it could not be known to the *Times*, because the fact could transpire only through breach of the cabinet oath. Others said that it might fairly be a matter of inference from the general policy being understood, but to this there was the objection that the *Times* asserted that its news was not a matter of inference but of fact, and the ordinary government papers persevered in denying the truth of the news altogether. The *Times* was scolded, insulted, jeered at, lectured, and everybody was warned not to mind the *Times*, but everybody did.

week after

would be

time, the general conviction was complete that the *Times* had some peculiar means of information. One report was that the Duke of Wellington had come down to the Horse Guards in great wrath, swearing, as he threw himself from his horse, at the pass things had come to when the corn laws were to be given up, but, besides that such a freak was not very like the shrewd and loyal Duke of Wellington, there was no reason here why the *Times* should be exclusively in possession of the information. There are some, of course, who know, and many more who believe they know, how the thing happened, but it is not fitting to record in a permanent form the chit chat of London about any but the historical bearings of an incident like this. The *Times* had true information, and that is all that is important to the narrative. As we have said, the announcement was made on the 4th of December. On the 5th, the *Standard* exhibited a conspicuous title to a counter-statement, 'Atrocious Fabrication by the *Times*,' but

meanwhile, 'the effect of the announcement by the *Times* at the Corn Exchange was immense surprise, not so much displeasure as might have been expected, and an instant downward tendency in the price of grain.' So said other papers. 'We adhere to our original announcement,' said the *Times* of December 6, 'that parliament will meet early in January, and that a repeal of the corn-laws will be proposed in one House by Sir R. Peel, and in the other by the Duke of Wellington.' The free-traders so far gave weight to the assertion as to announce everywhere with diligence that they would accept of 'nothing short of total repeal—not a shilling, nor a farthing, of duty should be imposed without sound reason shown.'

For a few days after this, the League was at the height of its glory. The agriculturists were cowed, and could only groan and murmur; men were out all day in the streets, to learn the opinions of their neighbours, and, above all, the expectations of Leaguers. On Sunday the 7th, it was understood that the Duke of Wellington had certainly, though most reluctantly, yielded. On Monday, it was observed that he did not attend the council; on Tuesday, it was believed that he would not act with his colleagues on this subject, and, by refusing to do so, had virtually withdrawn his assent. On Wednesday, there was a privy-council; on Thursday morning, it was understood that the meeting of parliament was somewhat deferred, as if to gain time to settle some difficulty. Throughout the day, the rumours of dissensions in the cabinet grew stronger; and at night, it was made known, all over London, that the ministry had resigned.

It may truly be said that the intelligence was received throughout the country with dismay. The full value of Sir R. Peel was not yet known—the value of his moral earnestness when at last freed from the shackles of educational prejudice and party intimacies—but the value of his administration was everywhere felt. For above four years now the nation had reposed upon his wise government—reposed on his safe and skilful financial management, and thorough efficiency in all the business of governing; and he and his colleagues had moreover carried us through a period of deep depression and fearful

in the midst of the censure which was abundantly poured out upon him

On Friday the 19th the queen intimated to Sir R. Peel that, as their political relation was about to terminate, she wished to see him the next day, to bid him farewell. Before he went to Windsor on the Saturday, he was informed by Lord John Russell of the failure of his enterprise, and when he entered the queen's presence, he was told that, so far from taking leave he must prepare for the resumption of office. He returned to town as minister of the crown, and found no difficulty in reconstructing his cabinet. Lord Stanley of course retired. All the others remained—all but one who had died suddenly from the anxiety of the crisis. Lord Wharncliffe had been suffering from gout, but no danger was apprehended. He was, however, in no state to bear the turmoil of the time, and he suddenly sank on the 19th of December, in the seventieth year of his age. As president of the council, he had proved himself a zealous and effective minister, and his earnestness in fulfilling to the utmost such provisions for education as had been obtained, secured him much gratitude from society. It was an untoward time for a West Riding election, but this elevation of Mr. Stuart Wortley to the peerage rendered it necessary, and Lord Morpeth was returned to his old seat without opposition. Mr. Gladstone became colonial secretary, instead of Lord Stanley, and the Duke of Buccleuch succeeded Lord Wharncliffe as president of the council.

And now once more all was going well—well for the people, and, in a large view, well for the minister. His position was at once an humbling and a glorious one, his course a hard and yet a straight one. He had to stand up in the face of the world, and say that he had been in error all his life, and that he found himself compelled now to achieve that which he had all his life opposed. This was the hard part—accompanied as it must be by the rage of disappointed partisans, the indignant grief of old friends, and perhaps the intemperate triumph of old enemies. But his position was a glorious one, if he could but show himself equal to it. If, instead of making this the beginning of a new career, as some anticipated, he

settled it with himself that this should be his last scene of power, and he could endure calmly what he must go through as a necessary retribution for previous error, and close his career with giving to the nation the benefit it most wanted in the best possible manner, this last scene of his administration might be the noblest. His course must be hard, for there were terrible storms ready to burst in parliament; and when he had, by a stern and self-forgetting rule, held his party together for the passage of the single great measure now in his hand, his party would fall to pieces, and he might be left alone in his place in the legislature, after a life of industry and eminent political prosperity. But not the less was his course clear. He must propose and carry through a total repeal of the corn-laws, whatever became of himself. This must be his single and his final aim; and those who knew anything of the 'alacrity of spirit' with which a strong and honourable mind enters on a great work of reparation, self-sacrifice, and general justice, believed that Sir R. Peel would now make manifest to the utmost the nobleness of his position and the singleness of his aim.

As for the Duke of Wellington, the peremptory and inflexible, who had gone through so many changes, and must now go through one more—everybody knew, by dint of repetition, what he would say. He would say that he could not desert his sovereign. And this is what he did say. 'At all events,' he declared, 'whatever that measure may be, I must say this: that, situated as I am in this country—highly rewarded as I have been by the sovereign and the people of England—I could not refuse that sovereign to aid her, when called upon, to form a government, in order to enable her majesty to meet her parliament, and to carry on the business of the country. Upon that ground, my lords, I present myself to your lordships.'

CHAPTER XV

Opening of the Session—Further Remission of Duties—The Revenue prosperous—The Corn Duties—Relief to Farmers—The Issue—The Minister—Nature of the Reform—Dissolution of the League—Irish Life Bill—Resignation of Ministers—The retiring Minister

THE royal speech, delivered by the queen in person on the 19th of January, expressed satisfaction in the results of the repeal of customs duties, as far as they had yet gone, and recommended to parliament the consideration whether the repeal of restrictions might not be carried yet further, whether there might not still be a remission 'of the existing duties upon many many articles, the produce or manufacture of other countries'

The remission took place on several articles of the tariff without much opposition. Almost the only raw materials still subject to duty were tallow and timber, and these were to be extensively reduced. In consideration of the release of so much raw material, the manufacturers were expected to acquiesce in the reduction of some remaining articles of manufacture, and thus they showed all willingness to do. And well they might, for the minister's exposition proved the vast increase of the silk manufacture in England, in proportion to the removal of duties. There was to be a considerable reduction of the duty on silk manufactures, with more certainty of levy, and the duties on cotton and woollen fabrics were removed or lessened one half. The differential duties on free labour sugar were reduced—the higher from 11s 8d to 8s, and the lower from 9s 4d to 5s 10d. On brandy and foreign spirits, the duty was brought down nearer to the point which might obviate smuggling, that is, from 22s 10d per gallon to 15s. Animal food and vegetables were to be admitted duty free, and butter, cheese, hops, and cured fish, reduced one-half. Live animals were freed from duty, and a considerable number of minor and 'unenum-

rated articles.' The minister was strengthened by the successes of former years, and by the absorbing of men's mind in the corn subject; and these remissions passed without any effectual opposition. The sugar-duties, however, were left over for subsequent consideration.

The revenue showed indisputably the results of former remissions. There was this year a clear surplus of £2,380,600. There was a considerable increase in the consumption of those excisable commodities which are connected with the comfort of the mass of the people; more money was in the savings-banks; and there was something better still—a more significant and more blessed token of prosperity than any other—there was a marked decrease of crime. But for the impending famine, there could be no doubt that our country was on the way to a prosperity which must for ever have settled opinions about the policy of free-trade.

It was on the 27th of January that the above tariff reductions were proposed, in the same speech that was to announce the ministerial plan about the corn-laws. 'Every crevice' into which a stranger could thrust himself was occupied; and hundreds who held tickets were obliged to remain in the streets. Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge sat below the bar. The minister's speech lasted four hours. It was listened to for the most part in quietness; but some paragraphs were vehemently cheered by the opposition.

All agricultural produce which serves as cattle-food, such as buckwheat and Indian corn, was to be admitted duty free. It was this provision which wrought better than any other precaution whatever to reduce the pressure of the subsequent famine in Ireland; for Indian meal is a good article of human food—far superior to potatoes. All colonial grain was to bear a merely nominal duty. This would be good news in our Australian colonies, whenever the tidings could reach so far. As for other grain, all protection was to cease in three years; and that time was allowed for the farmers to accommodate themselves to the change. In the interval, the duties were to be considerably reduced. When wheat was under 48s. per quarter, the duty was to be 10s. When at 1s. higher, the duty was to

be 1s lower, till wheat should be at 54s and the duty at 4s, after which the duty should not further change. The same principle and proportion were to apply to other kinds of grain. The immediate effect would be to reduce the duty, at the existing price of wheat, from 16s to 4s. It was proposed to afford some important relief to the farmers, otherwise than by laying burdens on other classes. Loans of public money were to be attainable by persons contemplating agricultural improvements. The law of settlement was to be so altered as to prevent country parishes from being burdened with labourers when adversity pressed on the manufacturing districts. Five years' industrial residence was henceforth to constitute a settlement. The cost of prisoners was to be taken off the county rates. By a consolidation of the highway departments—a consolidation which would reduce the boards from 16 000 to about 600—a vast relief from waste and mismanagement would be obtained. Such were the main features of the scheme. Objections naturally spring up on all sides. The Protectionists were, of course, furious, and their antagonists were sorry—and especially on account of the farmers themselves—that there was to be an interval of three years before the corn trade was free. The farmers' friends looked on the accompanying provisions of relief as a mere mockery, and some derided the multifarious character of the scheme. But, after all objections were made, there remained the grand and simple fact that in three years the corn laws would be no more. The manufacturers threw away with joy such remaining duties as had been called a protection to them, and the League leaders who had invariably declared that they would support any man of any party who would obtain the repeal of the corn laws, now gave their whole strength to the minister and his scheme.

The debate began on the 9th of February, and extended over twelve nights between that and the 27th when there was a decision in favour of the government by a majority of 97 in a House of 577. On the 2nd of March, the House went into committee, when four nights more were filled with debate, before the second reading was carried by a majority of 88. A last effort was made, in a debate of

three nights, to prevent a third reading; but it was carried, at four in the morning of the 16th of May, by a majority of 98 in a House of 556 members.

In the Lords, the majority in favour of the second reading was 47 in a full House—a more easy passage than could have been anticipated. The few amendments that were proposed were negatived; the bill passed on the 22nd of June, and became law on the 26th of the same month.

During this long series of debates, every consideration that had ever been urged, for or against a repeal of the corn-laws, was brought up again. There is no need to repeat any of them here. Every personality that could pass the lips of educated men and gentlemen in our period of civilisation was uttered by angry antagonists; and not a few which it is surprising that educated men and gentlemen could listen to without discountenance and rebuke. It would do no good to repeat any of them here. The principal new points, not mere personality, were the extraordinary denial, on the part of the Protectionists, of the existence or probability of famine in Ireland, though such an amount of evidence was laid before the House as might have been expected to bear down all party rancour, and all pride of opinion, and to induce sympathy with the administration in the most prejudiced man in the House. On this, also, there is no occasion to enlarge. Time has shown what the condition of Ireland was, and was to be; and the keenest Protectionist is now probably astonished that he could ever doubt it, after listening to the evidence offered by Sir Robert Peel and Lord Lincoln. On the soundness of that evidence, however, rested so much of the minister's case, that any appreciation of himself and his position was impossible while his detail of facts was denied. His position during the session was therefore hard beyond all parallel. His temper and conduct were worthy of it. He made at first such ample confession of the error of a life; maintained so simply the duty and dignity of avowing error, instead of being obstinate and silent; bore so magnanimously the reproaches which were the natural retribution of the mistake which he had held in common with almost the whole of the legislature and the aristocracy

during the greater part of his life, and was so sustained under his personal trials by a moral enthusiasm sufficiently rare at all times in the House of Commons, and little expected from him, that, before his retirement, he was looked up to with new feelings by generous-minded men of all parties. His own words will best explain his position and his views. 'You have a right, I admit,' he said, in his final speech on the bill, 'to taunt me with any change of opinion on the corn laws, but when you say that by my adoption of the principles of free-trade, I have acted in contradiction to those principles which I have always avowed during my whole life that charge, at least, I say, is destitute of foundation. Sir, I will not enter at this late hour into the discussion of any other topic. I foresaw the consequences that have resulted from the measures which I thought it my duty to propose. We were charged with the heavy responsibility of taking security against a great calamity in Ireland. We did not act lightly. We did not form our opinion upon merely local information—the information of local authorities likely to be influenced by an undue alarm. Before I, and those who agreed with me, came to that conclusion, we had adopted every means—by local inquiry, and by sending perfectly disinterested persons of authority to Ireland—to form a just and correct opinion. Whether we were mistaken or not—I believe we were not mistaken—but, even if we were mistaken, a generous construction should be put upon the motives and conduct of those who are charged with the responsibility of protecting millions of subjects of the queen from the consequences of scarcity and famine. Sir, whatever may be the result of these discussions, I feel severely the loss of the confidence of those from almost all of whom I heretofore received a most generous support. So far from expecting them, as some have said, to adopt my opinions, I perfectly recognise the sincerity with which they adhere to their own. I recognise their perfect right, on account of the admitted failure of my speculation, to withdraw from me their confidence. I honour their motives, but I claim, and I always will claim, while intrusted with such powers, and subject to such responsibility, as the minister of this great country is intrusted with and is subject to

—I always will assert the right to give that advice which I conscientiously believe to be conducive to the general wellbeing. I was not considering, according to the language of the honourable member for Shrewsbury, what was the best bargain to make for a party. I was considering first what were the best measures to avert a great calamity, and, as a secondary consideration, to relieve that interest which I was bound to protect from the odium of refusing to acquiesce in measures which I thought to be necessary for the purpose of averting that calamity. Sir, I cannot charge myself or my colleagues with having been unfaithful to the trust committed to us. . . . If I look to the prerogative of the crown—if I look to the position of the Church—if I look to the influence of the aristocracy—I cannot charge myself with having taken any course inconsistent with Conservative principles, calculated to endanger the privileges of any branch of the legislature, or of any institutions of the country. My earnest wish has been, during my tenure of power, to impress the people of this country with a belief that the legislature was animated by a sincere desire to frame its legislation upon the principles of equity and justice. I have a strong belief that the greatest object which we or any other government can contemplate should be to elevate the social condition of that class of the people with whom we are brought into no direct relation by the exercise of the elective franchise. I wish to convince them that our object has been so to apportion taxation, that we shall relieve industry and labour from any undue burden, and transfer it, so far as is consistent with the public good, to those who are better enabled to bear it. I look to the present peace of this country; I look to the absence of all disturbance—to the non-existence of any commitment for a seditious offence; I look to the calm that prevails in the public mind; I look to the absence of all disaffection; I look to the increased and growing public confidence on account of the course you have taken in relieving trade from restrictions, and industry from unjust burdens; and where there was dissatisfaction, I see contentment; where there was turbulence, I see there is peace; where there was disloyalty, I see there is loyalty; I see a disposition to

confide in you, and not to agitate questions that are at the foundations of your institutions'

In a later speech, the very last which he delivered before quitting office, he again recurred to the great consolatory ground of the improved condition of those who can least help themselves. He relinquished power, to use his own words, 'with a more lively recollection of the support and confidence I have received during several years, than of the opposition which, during a recent period, I have encountered. In relinquishing power, I shall leave a name, severely censured, I fear, by many who, on public grounds, deeply regret the severance of party ties—deeply regret that severance, not from interested or personal motives, but from the firm conviction that fidelity to party engagements—the existence and maintenance of a great party—constitutes a powerful instrument of government, I shall surrender power, severely censured also by others who, from no interested motive, adhere to the principle of protection, considering the maintenance of it to be essential to the welfare and interests of the country; I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist who, from less honourable motives, clamours for protection because it conduces to his own individual benefit, but it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice'

It was quite true that there was a popular disposition 'not to agitate questions that are at the foundation of our institutions'. The great reform of policy—of procedure—which had now taken place had excluded all present thoughts of organic change from the mind of the people. Inferior in importance as the late enterprise was to that of reform of parliament—inferior in its order, and in its import—it was yet great enough to absorb for the time the political energy of the nation. To arrest the sinking of the agricultural interests of the country, and remove the impediments to a free supply of food, were objects inferior

only to any enterprise of organic change; but they were inferior. It does not follow, however, that organic change may not arise from an inferior order of reform; and in this case it was clear to those who were aware of the facts that the power under the Reform Bill, discovered by Mr. Cobden, of renovating county constituencies must, sooner or later, bring forth vast political results. The system of forty-shilling freehold purchase and registration, begun under the League organisation, did not stop when the League dissolved itself. It proceeds, and at an accelerated rate.

On the 2nd of July, the League was 'conditionally dissolved,' by the unanimous vote of a great meeting of the leaders at Manchester. The body was virtually dissolved; but the executive council had power to call it again into existence, if occasion should arise—that is, if attempts should be made to revive agricultural protection. Mr. Cobden here, joyfully closed his seven years' task, which he had prosecuted at the expense of health, fortune, domestic comfort, and the sacrifice of his own tastes in every way. Sir R. Peel had said of him, in his closing speech, that to one man was the great work of repeal owing, and that that man was Richard Cobden; and Mr. Cobden now declared at Manchester that if Sir R. Peel had lost office, he had gained a country. The Leaguers were not called on for more than the first instalment of the quarter of a million they had resolved to raise; and out of that sum, they voted £10,000, in his absence, to their chairman, Mr. James Wilson. Mr. Cobden had sacrificed at least £20,000 in the cause. The country now, at the call of the other chief Leaguers, presented him with above £80,000—not only for the purpose of acknowledging his sacrifices, but also to set him free for life for the political service of his country.

Early in the session, the ministers had introduced a bill for the protection of life in Ireland, where the practice of night-assassination was again partially prevailing. The political jealousy of the time was exercised upon this bill; and it was opposed by a curious medley of members in the Commons, after an easy passage in the Lords. It was thrown out in the Commons, on the same night (June 26)

when the Corn law Bill passed the Lords. The majority against the ministers was 73. Every one knew that the Peel administration was going out, as soon as the repeal of the corn laws was achieved, but perhaps this defeat settled the moment. On the 29th, the Duke of Wellington took leave of power in the one House, and Sir R. Peel in the other, in announcing their resignation of office.

In one sense, Sir R. Peel might be said to take leave of power, but his moral power was destined yet to grow stronger. An old and faithful member of opposition, Mr. Hume, said of him, on this last evening, 'That no one ever left power carrying with him so much of the sympathy of the people,' and there were multitudes who could not endure the thought of losing him, at the very moment of his discovering himself to the nation in his greatest aspect. As he left the House on the night of the 29th, leaning on the arm of Sir George Clerk, he was swayed by a quiet multitude outside, who bared their heads at the sight of him, and escorted him to his house. Some of these probably hoped to hail him as minister again some day, for it was a common idea throughout the country that, if there was only one man who could govern the country, that man would have to govern the country, whether he would or no. But he knew better. He knew that his last words were a real farewell.

That which he did not and could not know was the full nobleness of the position which he would henceforth hold. He had nothing more to attain. His wealth had always been great, and it was not in the power even of the sovereign to ennoble him. His honours are of a higher order than those of the peerage, and would be rather impaired than enhanced by his removal from among the Commons. In the Commons he has no party, because there is no party there, and if there were, he has withdrawn from party conflict. He speaks as from his own mind, and his words have singular weight. He sits in the legislature, a man free from personal aims of every kind, at full leisure, and in full freedom to cast light where it is wanted on any hand, to give guidance and sanction, and material for speculation and action in future years, when he will be no more

seen in his place. Men of all parties seem to agree upon one point in regard to Sir R. Peel—that his latest position in the British legislature is the noblest that, in our period of time, can be held by any man.

CHAPTER XVI.

Deaths.—Royal—Of Statesmen and Warriors—Of Artists—Men of Science—Literary Men—Other Benefactors—Living Benefactors—George Stephenson—Barry—Macready—Turner—Wordsworth—Joanna Baillie—Rogers—Alfred Tennyson—Wilson—Jeffrey—Thomas Macaulay—Landon—Hallam—Carlyle—Maria Edgeworth—Bulwer—Dickens—Punch—Herschel—Faraday.

WITH the charm of a youthful sovereign and a fresh royal generation came, necessarily, the mournfulness of seeing the old drop off—the old princes and statesmen and warriors, whose names had been familiar to us all our lives. The Duke of Sussex, the most popular of the sons of George III.—the amiable man, the lover of books and of philosophy, the hero of a love-story in the last century, when he married Lady Augusta Murray—died in April 1843, in the seventy-second year of his age; and his cousin, the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, followed him in November of the next year, at the age of seventy-one. At the time they died, the reading world was learning, by the Diary of Madame D'Arblay, how these affectionate cousins looked, and what they said, in the days of their early youth, when she was brilliantly handsome, and he full of grace and kindness to everybody in his father's court. They had since had much pain and uneasiness in their lives; and it was time that they were at rest.—The illustrious family of the Wellesleys was breaking up. The Marquis Wellesley, who had ruled India when his brother Arthur won his first successes there, died in 1842, in his eighty-third year; and his younger brother—but still some years older than the Duke of Wellington and Lord Cowley—Lord Mornington, followed in 1845. Lord Mornington was Sir R. Peel's predecessor in his early

the exhibition of 1806, his eye fell on a bust sent in by a novice, he said: 'It is a splendid work. Let the man be known. Remove one of my busts, and put this in its place.' The man was Chantrey—then twenty-four years old. From that time he was abundantly known, and uniformly successful. He never had any struggles against fortune to tell of, his only cross in life being that his father had wished to make him an attorney when he desired to be 'a carver.' The two works by which he is perhaps best known, the statue of Lady Louisa Russell, and the Sleeping Children in Lichfield Cathedral, were from designs by Stothard. He had not poetic faculty for such designs; but he excelled in monumental sculpture of a simply grave order—as his statues of Watt, and Horner, and Canning, and many more, are proofs. Having no near relations, Chantrey left the reversion of his property, after its use by his widow, for the encouragement of art in Great Britain. When he w.

himself, he said to his
Cunningham, that it should

them both; but Allan had no mind for this. . . .
ho, 'I should not like, even when I am dead, to be so shut
up. I would far rather rest where the daisies would grow
over my head.' They departed within a year of each
other, Chantrey going first, and leaving a generous
provision for Cunningham—to whose poetical mind he

attachment Chantrey
November

November.
poet, fifty-

six. It is as a poet, and especially as a writer, that
Allan Cunningham's name will live. He attempted
various walks of literature, and is well known by his
Lives of British Painters; but his fame rests more securely
on his ballads and songs. We shall not forget 'It's hame
and it's hame;' or, 'A wet sheet and a flowing sea.'
There was a great sweep among the painters during this
period. Hosland, the landscape-painter, was husband to
the Mrs. Hosland whose tales for children were so un-
boundedly popular for some time after their appearance.
The Edgeworths testified to their great value in Ireland;

and Queen Charlotte patronised them in England. The husband, too, was favoured by the old king; yet the Hoflands suffered cruelly from embarrassments, caused by an unfortunate contract with the Duke of Marlborough, the heavy expenses of which fell, not on the peer, but the artist. Both worked hard, as long as years and health would allow—the husband in teaching as well as painting, and the wife in literature and in domestic cares. Mr. Hofland died in January 1843, and his wife in November 1844.—In 1844, we lost the aged Nicholson, one of the founders of the Society of Painters in Water-colours, whose last effort, when dying at the age of ninety-one, was to have himself lifted up, to brighten a dark cloud in a picture of a shipwreck; and Geddes, the portrait-painter and associate of the Royal Academy, best known, perhaps, by his picture of the ‘Discovery of the Regalia of Scotland,’ with a portrait of Scott; and Grieve, the first scene-painter of his time, who raised that kind of work into a department of art; and, to the regret of all England, Callcott, the respected and beloved. He was early destined to music, with and by his elder brother; but he turned to painting; and, at first, to portraits, under the teaching of Hoppner. After 1803, however, he devoted himself to landscape-painting, and earned the title of the English Claude. He married the well-known writer, Maria Graham, whose health was undermined before this second marriage. His devoted watching over her destroyed his health, and impaired in proportion his professional efforts; and when she died, in 1842, he was more like a man of eighty than of sixty-three; and he was no longer able to paint. In 1844, the queen made him conservator of the royal pictures; an office which was valuable to him, not only for its honour and profit, but because it afforded him occupation and interest which were not too great for his strength. Up to the last week of his life he exerted himself to complete an improved catalogue of the queen’s pictures, and then died, on the 23rd of November, after a decline of at least six years. His serene expanses, wide horizons, melting distances, rippling waters, and lucid Dutch river-scenes will always refresh and gratify the eye, through all changes of taste in art.

general at the Mauritius, by which there was a deficiency in the treasury. He made enemies on every hand by the libellous tone of his newspaper, and he was perpetually overwrought by toil while wasting his resources of purse, health, and time, in dissipation. He was, however, the leading wit of his time in the old fashioned method of London dissipation, and in his career we seem to see revived with little alteration, the raking poor author of each former century. Theodore Hook was only fifty two when he died, in August 1841—Maturin an Irish clergyman, who wrote two novels in a Byronic style which became popular—*Bertram* and *Melmoth the Wanderer*—died in 1842 and in the same year, died another Irish novelist of far higher merit, John Banim, author of the *O'Hara Tales* *The Boyne Water*, *Father Connell* and others. It was Banim who first opened up those aspects of Irish life which have since been exhibited by Carleton Griffin and others, and which are as unlike the pictures of the Edgeworths and the Morgans as Fielding is unlike Richardson. The tragedy of humble life was Banim's department and he wrought in it with great power. He had himself but too much experience of the tragic side of human life. He attempted editorship at seventeen years old, married at twenty, suffered from sickness and poverty for many years—a poverty which seemed scarcely reduced by a pension granted him in 1837—and died in his forty second year—Captain Hamilton ranks among the novelists for his *Cyril Thornton*, but he is no less known by his contributions to

ability and his calm temper and judgment, and admirable manners appearing through his writings to those who never saw his face, gave a weight to what he said, which is sometimes desired in vain by men of greater power. In curious companionship with the poor novelists of the time, the Hooks, and Banim and Hood's, we find Mr Beckford's name—the Wm Beckford who was born to £100,000 a though he his wonder

the name of *Vathek*,
milding
er, 300

feet high, fell down, was rebuilt, and fell again; but *Vathek* remains. The nine days' wonder of Mr. Beckford's eccentricities and the Fonthill sale has long been forgotten; but the vivacity and power of his *Letters on Italy, Spain, and Portugal*, are as keen as ever. Mr. Beckford was the son and heir of the Alderman Beckford whose celebrated extempore speech to George III. is engraved on his monument in Guildhall. The production of *Vathek* seems to have been an instance of impromptu ability quite as remarkable. Mr. Beckford used to declare that it was written at one sitting—that is, in three days and two nights, during which he never took off his clothes. It was written in French, and afterwards translated without his knowledge, and with little skill. Byron used to think it the best attempt at the oriental style of fiction ever made by a European. It appeared first at Lausanne, in 1784. This carries us very far back; but Mr. Beckford was then twenty-four years of age. He lived sixty years longer, dying at Bath in May 1844.—Thomas Hood, the author of *Tylney Hall*, was classed among the novelists on that account; but he belongs to other departments too. He was a wit, as every page of every one of his writings may show; and we have the *Plea of the Midsummer Fairies*, and *Eugene Aram's Dream*, and the *Song of the Shirt*, to prove him a poet. He was an editor of annuals and of magazines; but our interest in him is from the remarkable union, in his genius, of wit, sense, and pathos. It is true that we never see real wit apart from sound sense, and rarely from pathos; but in Hood, all so abounded together, and in the strictest union, as to give almost an impression of a fresh order of genius. He was one of the sufferers of his order—a sufferer from sickness and poverty; and he was in the depths of these troubles when he had cause, like poor Haydon, to wonder how the prime-minister, in the midst of harassing cares and a load of business, could attend to his interests, and consult his feelings with all the nicety of leisure. The letter of Sir R. Peel to Hood, announcing the grant of a pension, remains one of the chief honours of the great statesman. Poor Hood died soon after; the pension was granted to his widow; and in a few months she also died. The children were taken

ment of education in England. Her name was Flaherty. She was not rich, but she was unmarried, and free to live as she chose, and dispose of her income as she would. She chose to live frugally, and to ride in an omnibus instead of a better carriage, that she might have means to aid the extension of education. In 1836, she presented to the council of University College the sum of £5000 in the 3½ per cents out of which scholarships have been founded. This lady has shown us that there is nothing in our modern civilisation—our omnibuses and unsectarian schools—which can preclude the antique spirit and practice of love and good works, and in this the admirable Mary Flaherty has perhaps left us as true a benefit as in the scholarships which bear her name. She died in 1845, aged eighty-four.

The creation of wealth, and consequently of human life, by means of the cotton manufacture, is pointed out as one of the leading social events of the last century. It is reckoned that the cotton manufacture has added permanently 2,000,000 to our population. Something analogous, on a smaller, but still on a great scale, has been effected in our own time by the agricultural improvements of one man—Mr Coke, of Norfolk, who died Earl of Leicester. By the simple and virtuous method of devoting his mind and life to the improvement of the land, Mr Coke caused a vast permanent increase of wealth, and therefore of labour and subsistence, and therefore of human life. In a single village, where he found 162 inhabitants when he

first came to the property he left 1000. and for many miles
by
ital
of
small account in his eyes in comparison with the stimulus given to agricultural improvement by his example. The Holkham sheep-shearing, at which Mr Coke annually entertained 300 guests for several days roused a fine spirit among the landed proprietors of England and the farmers of Norfolk, and caused Mr Coke to be looked upon as one of the chief social benefactors of his time. While in the House of Commons he was a sturdy Liberal. When the Reform Bill passed, he thought he might be spared from

the political world, aged as he then was. He was always called 'the first commoner of England;' but, in 1837, when eighty-five years of age, he was made Earl of Leicester. He reached the age of ninety, dying in June 1842.—There were benefactors of Mrs. Flaherty's order in the cause of agricultural improvements during this period. Dr. Swiney, resident in Camden Town, an eccentric gentleman in some respects, did an act of sober goodness in leaving £5000 to the trustees of the British Museum, for the establishment of a lectureship on geology; and another £5000 to the Society of Arts, to provide, once in every five years, 100 guineas, to be presented, in a goblet of equal value, to the British freeholder who should reclaim the largest extent of waste lands. Dr. Swiney died in 1844.—In 1846 died Mr. Peter Purcell of Dublin, who was mainly instrumental in forming the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society, and who did in Ireland, on a smaller scale, what Mr. Coke was doing in England. He became wealthy through the improvement of land—caring less for his wealth for its own sake, than as a proof open to all eyes of the direction in which the welfare of Ireland lay. He withdrew from politics, in which he had once been as much involved as any man, and engaged as many of his neighbours as he could in the interests of improved husbandry. More and more labourers were employed; the political temper of his neighbours improved; he grew wealthy; and when he was gone, all men saw what a benefactor he had been.—When Mr. Coke was called the first commoner of England, the Marquis of Westminster was believed to be 'the richest subject in the empire.' His importance in our eyes arises, not from the amount of his wealth, but from the mode in which its increase was provided for during this period. The Pimlico estate, before considered a vast property, now has upon it the new squares of Belgrave and Eaton, with Eccleston Street, Wilton Place, and all the new city of palaces which foreigners now look upon as one of the marvels of London. The ultimate rental of this district is scarcely calculable. The Marquis of Westminster had besides a noble library, including a mass of valuable ancient manuscripts, and one of the finest picture-galleries in the kingdom, which was liberally opened to the public.

with Douglas Jerrold at their head, set up a weekly commentary on the doings of London as seen by *Punch*, and there is no corner of the kingdom to which *Punch's* criticisms have not penetrated. The work has been very useful as well as abundantly amusing, it has had its faults and follies, and has dropped some of them, and now, its objects of satire are usually as legitimate as its satire is pungent and well tempered. It is something that the grave English have a droll periodical to make them laugh every week, and it is something more that the laugh is not at the expensæ of wisdom.

In the solemn and immortal labours of the laboratory and the observatory we have Faraday and Herschel yet busy. It is not for us to speak of the secrets of nature which they are laying open, and it is not for any one to compute what they have done, or to anticipate what they may do. Of one work of Sir J. Herschel's we may form some estimate—his *Preliminary Discourse on Natural Philosophy*. That treatise is enough to make any man with a mind and heart long to devote himself to the pursuit of physical science, as the high road to wisdom, from that moment onwards. His own devotion to it is an example and inducement to all who can follow. He went to the Cape, to set up his observatory—leaving behind all considerations but that of the advancement of science, and every step of his pilgrimage has set its mark on a future age. As for Faraday, we dare say only that he is penetrating into mysteries of existence of which his own vast faculties can hardly bear the contemplation, and which will therefore become fully comprehensible only to a future generation. Under his gaze and his touch, the solid material of the universe is all melting away, matter—according to the old and now vulgar idea of it—is dissolving itself into forces, and our feeble insight into nature would be blinded, and our weak grasp of reliance would be all cast loose, but for the great truth which presents itself more clearly through all changes—that immutable law rules everywhere, all sufficing for our intellectual support and our ease of heart. If we cannot compute what has been done by the researches and discoveries of Faraday for the period through which we have

passed, we can say nothing of how they will influence the next. We can only feel certain that, in as far as they must change the aspect of the universe, and give a new command over the conditions of organised life, they must largely affect the destiny of man, both in his intellectual progress and his social relations. It will be for the men of that future time to assign to Faraday his place in the history of his country and of his kind.

CHAPTER XVII.

National Advancement—Electric Telegraph—Sun-painting—Lord Rosse's Telescope—The Thames Tunnel—British Scientific Association—Geology—Medicine—Sanitary Improvement—Agricultural Associations—Prisons and Criminal Law—Extinction of Slavery—Education—Popular Music—Popular Art—The Educator—Methods of Charity—Duelling—Political Morality—What remains—The Labour Question.

IN taking a review of any period within our own experience, every one of us is apt to exaggerate the gains of the time—its gains in knowledge, arts, and moral views. This arises in part from our confounding change or expansion in our own ideas with change in the world about us. Therefore, we are liable to be struck by an opposite view upon occasion; and, in contemplating the best things in the old world—not its arts and science, but the wisdom of its sages, and the mental condition and communion of its people—to doubt whether, after all, the human race has got on so very much as is commonly said. If we endeavour to keep our view extended, we shall not suppose that any critical or decisive advance can have been made by any section of the human race in a period of thirty years; and we shall look without pride or vanity, it may be hoped, upon such improvements as may be recognised; while the review of such improvements may be thoroughly delightful, as convincing us of that rapid partial advance towards the grand slow general advance which we humbly but firmly trust to be the destination of the human race.

science of agricultural chemistry has advanced materially within thirty years—partly in consequence of our improved intercourse with the continent. And our agricultural associations have sprung up within a much shorter date. The Board of Agriculture, the pet project of George III. was supported by an annual parliamentary grant. It had no real life in it, and it expired when the parliamentary grant was withdrawn in 1817. After that, we had in England nothing corresponding to the great and useful Highland Society of Scotland. Scotch farming improved continually. In England farming could hardly grow worse than it had been, but it did not improve. Mr. William Shaw understood something of the magnitude of the need. In 1834, and subsequent years, he urged continually, in agricultural periodicals, the formation of a national society for the advancement of practical agriculture. At the dinner of the Smithfield Club on the 11th of December 1837, Lord Spencer proposed the formation of such a society, and the thing was done. From the knowledge since obtained, and the results already exhibited it appears that if we understood our position and our business, there need be no more fear of an insufficiency of work or of food for the people. If all refuse were used as manure, and all the land now under cultivation were properly tilled, we should hear no more in our time of surplus population, of wages falling below 8s., of farmers having cause to dread the importation of foreign wheat, or of the consumption of meat being confined to classes who by no means want it most. As the development of manufactures has become the great business of the last century, so agriculture has become the great business of the nineteenth century. The protective system of the last century is distinctively a thing of the past. The system of protection is dissolved. something like a scientific education is now to be obtained by the next generation of farmers, and our sanitary researches are about to provide an ample supply of the first requisite of increased production. We may hope soon to see the agricultural population once more gazing upon the manufacturing, and the rural labouring-classes ceasing to be the opprobrium of our polity.—We have shown that the preservation of game is giving way, and must give way still

further.—We are in course of improvement with regard to our prison management. There is nothing to boast about yet, when we look at our convicts as victims of moral disease induced by ignorance and social neglect; but there is no comparison between the state of our prisons now and thirty years since. Since that time Mrs. Fry and her coadjutors have done their benevolent work; and it has been followed up by government and local authorities to such a point as to leave no doubt of a thorough reform in time. The main existing difficulty arises from the want of an ascertained basis of action. We have not settled yet what to do with our convicts. There is a clear expectation everywhere that the punishment of death will soon be abolished. There is, at the same time, almost universal discontent with our transportation system, and the widest diversity of views as to how convicts are to be managed and disposed of. It is not for us to prophesy what the result will be. It is enough to record that the question is before the national mind. It is enough that justice and mercy are invoked; for there never yet was any difficulty which, once appealed to, they refused to solve.

We have seen how essentially our criminal law has been improved since the days when Romilly laboured on amidst discouragement of every kind. We have seen how our nation has been relieved from the disgrace of slaveholding. We have failed in our efforts to stop the slave-trade; and we appear slow to learn that the slave-trade can come to an end only by being superseded, and not by being checked by force of arms. By encouraging the production of cotton, sugar, and coffee by free labour, by fostering innocent commerce in Africa, and, not least, by sympathising with the peaceful efforts of abolitionists wherever they are striving against the curse of slavery, we can do more for the extinction of the hellish traffic than by any armed force that can be sent out upon the sea. As the nation first in economic rank among the peoples of the world, it seems as if it must be our business to put down slavery by exhibiting its inferiority to free labour, while not the less insisting on its moral odiousness.

the poor of our nation. If it be said that they are improvident and that a multitude who are in poverty need not be so the answer again is plain. They know no better and that they know no better is caused by social neglect. They are not comfortable they feel that while they work, they ought to be comfortable, and they will not acquiesce while they see that those who work less are more comfortable and they are not told why. This is what remains for us to do—to find out the why, and to make everybody understand it.

The material for working out a better state is before us and the question of the rights of labour is pressing upon us. We have science brightening around us which may teach us to increase indefinitely our supply of food. We have labourers everywhere who are as capable as any men above them of domestic solicitude and who will not be more reckless about a provision for their families than gentlemen are when once the natural affections of the citizen parent are allowed free scope. We have now, by the recent repeal of the remnant of the navigation laws complete liberty of commerce. We have now the best heads and hearts occupied about this great question of the rights of labour with impressive warnings presented to us from abroad that it cannot be neglected under a lighter penalty than ruin to all. Is it possible that the solution should not be found? This solution may probably be the central fact of the next period of British history and then better than now it may be seen that in preparation for it lies the chief interest of the preceding Thirty Years' Peace.

APPENDIX.

CABINET MINISTERS.*	1814.	1813.
First Lord of the Treasury	Earl of Liverpool . . . .	. . . .
Lord President of the Council	Earl of Harrowby . . . .	. . . .
Lord High Chancellor	Lord Eldon . . . . .	. . . .
Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Westmoreland . . . .	. . . .
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Nicholas Vansittart . . . .	. . . .
First Lord of the Admiralty	Viscount Melville . . . . .	. . . .
Master-general of the Ordnance . . .	Earl Mulgrave . . . . .	. . . .
Secretary of State—Home Department	Viscount Sidmouth . . . . .	. . . .
" " Foreign Affairs	Viscount Castlereagh . . . .	. . . .
" " War and Colonies	Earl Bathurst . . . . .	. . . .
President of Board of Control	Earl Buckinghamshire . . . .	. . . .
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	C. Bragge Bathurst . . . . .	. . . .
Master of the Mint	W. W. Pole . . . . .	. . . .

CABINET MINISTERS.	1815.	1817.
First Lord of the Treasury	Earl of Liverpool . . . .	. . . .
Lord President of the Council	Earl of Harrowby . . . .	. . . .
Lord High Chancellor	Lord Eldon . . . . .	. . . .
Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Westmoreland . . . .	. . . .
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Nicholas Vansittart . . . .	. . . .
First Lord of the Admiralty	Viscount Melville . . . . .	. . . .
Master-general of the Ordnance . . .	Earl Mulgrave . . . . .	. . . .
Secretary of State—Home Department	Viscount Sidmouth . . . . .	. . . .
" " Foreign Affairs	Viscount Castlereagh . . . .	. . . .
" " War and Colonies	Earl Bathurst . . . . .	. . . .
President of Board of Control	George Canning . . . . .	. . . .
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	C. Bragge Bathurst . . . . .	. . . .
Master of the Mint	W. W. Pole . . . . .	. . . .

CABINET MINISTERS.	1818.	1819.
First Lord of the Treasury	Earl of Liverpool . . . .	. . . .
Lord President of the Council	Earl of Harrowby . . . .	. . . .
Lord High Chancellor	Lord Eldon . . . . .	. . . .
Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Westmoreland . . . .	. . . .
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Nicholas Vansittart . . . .	. . . .
First Lord of the Admiralty	Viscount Melville . . . . .	. . . .
Master-general of the Ordnance . . .	Earl Mulgrave . . . . .	. . . .
Secretary of State—Home Department	Viscount Sidmouth . . . . .	. . . .
" " Foreign Affairs	Viscount Castlereagh . . . .	. . . .
" " War and Colonies	Earl Bathurst . . . . .	. . . .
President of Board of Control	George Canning . . . . .	. . . .
Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster . .	C. Bragge Bathurst . . . . .	. . . .
Master of the Mint	W. W. Pole . . . . .	. . . .
Treasurer of Navy, and President of Board of Trade	Fred. John Robinson . . . .	. . . .

* The Lists generally show the composition of the Cabinet at the opening of the Parliamentary Session, but not always, especially in the cases of individual changes. Where the columns are blank, it is to be understood that there have been no changes.

CABINET MINISTERS.	1830	1831
First Lord of the Treasury Lord President of the Council Lord High Chancellor Lord Privy Seal Chancellor of the Exchequer First Lord of the Admiralty Master general of the Ordnance Secretary of State—Home Department Foreign Affairs War and Colonies President of Board of Control Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster Master of the Mint Treasurer of Navy President of Board of Trade First Commissioner of Land Revenue Secretary at War Postmaster general Paymaster of the Forces Chief Secretary for Ireland	Duke of Wellington Earl Bathurst Lord Lyndhurst Earl of Roselyn H. Goulburn Viscount Melville R. Peel Earl of Aberdeen Sir G. Murray Lord Ellenborough J. C. Herries W. Fitzgerald W. S. Baines Viscount Palmerston	Earl Grey Marq. of Lansdowne Lord Brougham Lord Durham Viscount Althorp Sir J. Graham. Viscount Melbourne Viscount Palmerston Viscount Goderich C. Grant Lord Holland Lord Auckland Duke of Richmond Lord John Russell { E. G. S. Stanley { Earl of Carlisle
CABINET MINISTERS	1832	1833
First Lord of the Treasury Lord President of the Council Lord High Chancellor Lord Privy Seal Chancellor of the Exchequer First Lord of the Admiralty Master general of the Ordnance Secretary of State—Home Department Foreign Affairs War and Colonies President of Board of Control Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster Master of the Mint Treasurer of the Navy and President of the Board of Trade Postmaster general Paymaster of the Forces Chief Secretary for Ireland	Earl Grey Marq. of Lansdowne Lord Brougham Lord Durham Viscount Althorp Sir J. Graham Viscount Melbourne Viscount Palmerston Viscount Goderich C. Grant Lord Holland Lord Auckland Duke of Richmond Lord J. Russell { E. G. S. Stanley { Earl of Carlisle	Earl of Ripon. E. G. S. Stanley
CABINET MINISTERS	1834—January	1834—August.
First Lord of the Treasury Lord President of the Council Lord High Chancellor Lord Privy Seal Chancellor of the Exchequer First Lord of the Admiralty Master general of the Ordnance Secretary of State—Home Department Foreign Affairs	Earl Grey Marq. of Lansdowne Lord Brougham Earl of Ripon Viscount Althorp Sir J. Graham Viscount Melbourne Viscount Palmerston	Viscount Melbourne. Earl of Mulgrave Lord Auckland Viscount Duncannon

CABINET MINISTERS—(cont.)	1831—January.	1831—August.
Secretary of State—War and Colonies . . .	E. G. S. Stanley . . .	S. Blev.
President of Board of Control . . .	C. Grant . . .	. . .
Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster . . .	Lord Holland . . .	. . .
Master of the Mint . . .	Lord Auckland . . .	. . .
Treasurer of the Navy, and President of the Board of Trade . . .		
Postmaster-general . . .	Duke of Richmond . . .	Marq. of V. of Wyndham.
Paymaster of the Forces . . .	Lord J. Russell . . .	E. J. Littleton.
Chief Secretary for Ireland . . .	{ E. G. S. Stanley . . . Earl of Carlisle . . .	

CABINET MINISTERS.	1831—December.	1835—January.
First Lord of the Treasury . . .	Sir R. Peel . . .	. . .
Lord President of the Council . . .	Earl of Rosslyn . . .	. . .
Lord High Chancellor . . .	Lord Lyndhurst . . .	. . .
Lord Privy Seal . . .	Lord Wharncliffe . . .	. . .
Chancellor of the Exchequer . . .	Sir R. Peel . . .	. . .
First Lord of the Admiralty . . .	Earl de Grey . . .	. . .
Master-general of the Ordnance . . .	Sir G. Murray . . .	. . .
Secretary of State—Home Department . . .	H. Goulburn . . .	. . .
“ “ Foreign Affairs . . .	Duke of Wellington . . .	. . .
“ “ War and Colonies . . .	Earl of Aberdeen . . .	. . .
President of Board of Control . . .	Lord Ellenborough . . .	. . .
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster . . .		. . .
Master of the Mint . . .	A. Baring . . .	. . .
Treasurer of the Navy, and President of the Board of Trade . . .	. . .	. . .
Postmaster-general . . .	. . .	. . .
Paymaster of the Forces . . .	Sir H. Knatchbull . . .	. . .
Chief Secretary for Ireland . . .	Sir H. Hardinge . . .	. . .
Secretary at War . . .	J. C. Herries . . .	. . .

CABINET MINISTERS.	1835—April.	1836.
First Lord of the Treasury . . .	Viscount Melbourne . . .	. . .
Lord President of the Council . . .	Marq. of Lansdowne . . .	. . .
Lord High Chancellor . . .	In Commission . . .	Lord Cottenham.
Lord Privy Seal . . .	Viscount Duncannon . . .	. . .
Chancellor of the Exchequer . . .	T. S. Rice . . .	. . .
First Lord of the Admiralty . . .	Earl of Minto . . .	. . .
Master-general of the Ordnance . . .		. . .
Secretary of State—Home Department . . .	Lord J. Russell . . .	. . .
“ “ Foreign Affairs . . .	Viscount Palmerston . . .	. . .
“ “ War and Colonies . . .	Lord Glenelg . . .	. . .
President of Board of Control . . .	Sir J. C. Robbhouse . . .	. . .
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster . . .	Lord Holland . . .	. . .
Master of the Mint . . .	. . .	. . .
Treasurer of the Navy, and President of the Board of Trade . . .	C. P. Thomson . . .	. . .
Postmaster-general . . .	. . .	. . .
Paymaster of the Forces . . .	. . .	. . .
Chief Secretary for Ireland . . .	. . .	. . .
Secretary at War . . .	Viscount Howick . . .	. . .

CABINET MINISTERS	1846—Jan to June
<p> <i>[Faint, illegible text]</i> </p>	<p> <i>[Faint, illegible text]</i> </p>
Postmaster general	

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